A fruteful/

and pleasaunt worke of the beste state of a publyque weale, and of the newe yle called Utopia: written in Latine by Syr Thomas More knyght, and translated into Englyshe by Raphe Robynson Citizein and Goldsmythe of London, at the procurement, and earnest request of George Tadlowe Citezein & Haberdassher of thesame Citie.

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1551.

1515.

To the right

honourable, and his verie sin
guler good maister, maister William
Cecylle esquiere, one of the twoo prin-
cipal secretaries to the kyng his moste
excellent maiestie, Raphe Robynson
wissheth cõtinuaunce of health,
with dayly increase of ver-
tue, and honoure.

Upon a tyme, when
tidynges came too
the citie of Corinthe
that kyng Philippe
father to Alexander
surnamed ỹ Great,
was comming the-
therwarde with an armie royall to lay
siege to the citie. The Corinthiãs being
forth with strycken with greate feare,
beganne busilie, and earnestly to looke
aboute them, and to falle to worke of
all handes. Some to showre & trymme
up harneis, some to carry stones, some
to amende and buylde hygher the wal-
les, some to rampiere and fortyfie the

bulwarkes, and fortresses, some one thynge, and some an other for the defendinge, and strengthenynge of the citie. The whiche busie labour, and toyle of theires when Diogenes the phylosopher sawe, hauing no profitable busines wherupō to sette himself on worke (neither any man required his labour, and helpe as expedient for the commē wealth in that necessitie) immediatly girded about him his phylosophicall cloke, & began to rolle, and tumble vp and downe hether & thether vpon the hille syde, that lieth adioyninge to the citie, his great barrel or tunne, wherein he dwelled: for other dwellynge place wold he haue noue. This seing one of his frendes, and not alitell musynge therat, came to hym: And I praye the Diogenes (quod he) whie doest thou thus, or what meanest thou hereby? Forsothe I am tumblyng my tubbe to (quod he) bycause it were no reason ẏ I only should be ydell, where so many be workīg. In semblable maner, right honorable sir, though I be, as I am in dede, of muche lesse habilitie then Diogenes

genes was to do any thinge, that shall or may be for the auauncement & commoditie of the publique wealth of my native countrey: yet I seing every sort, and kynde of people in theire vocatiõ, & degree busilie occupied about the cõmõ wealthes affaires: & especially learned mẽ daply putting forth in writing newe inuentions, & deuises to the furtherañce of thesame: thought it myboũden duetie to God, & to my countrey so to tũble my tubbe, I meane so to occupie, & exercise meself in bestowing such spare houres, as I beinge at ỹ becke, & cõmaundement of others, cold conueniently winne to me self: ỹ though no cõmoditie of that my labour, & trauaile to the publique weale should arise, yet it myght by this appeare, ỹ myne endeuoire, & good wille hereunto was not lacking. To the accõplishemẽt therfore, & fulfylyng of this my mynde, & purpose: I toke vpõ me to tourne, and translate out of Latine into oure Englishe tonge the frutefull, & profitable boke, which sir Thomas more knight compiled, & made of the new yle Vto-

pia, cõteining & setting forth ẏ best state, and fourme of a publique weale: A worke (as it appeareth) writtẽ almost fourtie yeres ago by the said sir Thomas More ẏ authour therof. The which the mã, forasmuche as he was a mã of late tyme, yea almost of thies our dayes: & for ẏ excellent qualities, wherewith the great goodnes of God had plẽtifully endowed hi, & for ẏ high place, & rowme, wherunto his prince had moste graciously called hĩ, notably wel knowen, not only amõg vs his cõtreme, but also in forrein cõtreis & nations: therfore I haue not much to speake of him. This only I saye: ẏ it is much to be lamẽted of al, & not only of vs Englith men, ẏ a man of so incomparable witte, of so profounde knowlege, of so absolute learning, & of so fine eloquẽce was yet neuertheleſſe so much blinded, rather w obstinacie, then w ignoraũce ẏ he could not or rather would not see the shining light of godes holy truthe in certein principal pointes of Christiã religion: but did rather chuse to perseuer, & continue in his wilfull & stub-

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bourne obstinacie euē to ꝯ very death. this I say is a thing much to be lamē ted. But letting this matter passe, I re tourne again to vtopia. Which (as I said before) is a work not only for ꝯ mat ter ꝯ it cōteineth fruteful & profitable, but also for ꝯ writers eloquēt latine stie le pleasaunt & delectable. Which he ꝯ readeth in latine, as ꝯ authour himself wrote it, perfectly vnderstanding ꝯ same: doubtles he shall take great pleasu re, & delite both in ꝯ swete eloquēce of ꝯ writer, & also in ꝯ wittie inuēcion, & fi ne cōueiaūce, or dispositiō of ꝯ matter: but most of all in the good, & holsome lessons, which be there in great plēty, & aboūdaūce. But nowe I feare greatly ꝯ in this my simple translatiō through my rudenes & ignoraūce in our englisth tonge all the grace & pleasure of ꝯ elo quence, wherwith ꝯ matter in latine is finely set forth may seme to be vtterly excluded, & lost; & therfore the fruteful nes of the matter it selfe muche peraduenture diminished, & appaired. ffor who knoweth not whiche knoweth a ny thyng, that an eloqent stpele setteth

forth & highly cõmendeth a meane matter. Where as on the other side rude, & vnlearned speche defaceth and disgraceth a very good matter. According as I harde ones a wise man say: A good tale euel tolde were better vntold, & an euell tale well tolde nedeth none other sollicitour. This thing I well pondering & wapinge vñ me self, & also knowing, & knowledging the barbarous rudenes of my translatiõ was fully determined neuer to haue put it forth in printe, had it not bene for certein frendes of myne, & especially one, whom a boue al other I regarded, a mã of sage, & discret witte, & in worldly matters by long vse well experiẽced, whoes name is George Tadlowe: an honest citizein of London, & in the same citie well accepted, & of good reputatiõ: at whoes request, & instaũce I first toke vpõ my weake, & feble sholders ye heauie, and weightie bourdein of this great enterprice. This man vñ diuers other, but this mã chiefely (for he was able to do more vñ me, thẽ many other) after that I had ones rudely brought ye worke to

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an ende, ceassed not by al meanes possible cõtinualy to assault me, vntil he had at ỹ laste, what by ỹ force of his pithie argumentes & strong reasons, & what by hys authoritie so persuaded me, that he caused me to agree & consente to the imprintinge herof. He therfore, as the chiefe persuadour, must take vpon him the daunger, whyche vpon this bolde, and rashe enterprise shall ensue. I, as I suppose, am herin clerely acquitte, and discharged of all blame. Yet, honorable Syr for the better auoyding of enuyous and malycyous tonges, I (knowynge you to be a man, not onlye profoundely learned, and well affected towardes all suche, as eyther canne, or wyll take paynes in ỹ well bestowing of that poore talente, whyche GOD hath endued them wyth: but also for youre godlye dysposityon, and vertuous qualyties not vnworthelye nowe placed in auctoritie, and called to honoure) am the bolder humblye to offer and dedycate vnto youre good mayster shyppe thys my symple woorke. Partly that vnder the sauffe conducte

of your protection it may the better be defended frō the obloquie of thē, which can say well by nothing, that pleaseth not their fond, and corrupt iudgementes, though it be els both frutefull and godly: & partly that by the meanes of this homely present I may the better renewe, and reuiue (which of late, as you know, I haue already begonne to do) ỹ old acquayntaunce, that was betwene you and me in the time of our childhode, being then scolefellowes togethers. Notdoubting that you for your natiue goodnes, and gentelnes will accept in good parte this poore gift, as an argument, or token, that mine old good wil, and hartye affection towardes you is not by reason of long tract of time, and separtion of our bodies any thinge at all quayled and diminished, but rather (I assuer you) much augmented, and increased. This verely is ỹ chiefe cause, ỹ hath incouraged me to be so bolde with youre maistership. Els trewly this my poore present is of such simple and meane sort, that it is neyther able to recompense the least portion of your great

great gentelnes to me, of my part vnde serued, both in the time of our olde acquayntance, and also now lately again bountifully shewed: neither yet fitte, & mete for the very basenes of it to be offered to one so worthy, as you be. But almighty god (who therfore euer be thãked) hath auañced you to such fortune, & dignity, that you be of hability to accept thankefully aswell a mans good will as his gift. The same god graunte you and all yours long, and ioyfully, to contynue in all godlynes and prosperytye.

(.·.)

T. Thomas

More to Peter Giles ſẽdeth gretynge.

I Am almoſte aſhamed, right welbeloued Peter Giles, to ſẽde vnto you this boke of ỹ vtopian commen wealth, welnigh after a yeares ſpace, which I am ſuer you loked for within a moneth & a half. And no marueil. For you knewe welenough, that I was already diſburdened of all ỹ labour & ſtudy belõging to the inuention in this worke, and that I had no nede at all to trouble my braynes about the diſpoſitiõ, or cõueyaunce of the matter: & therfore had her in nothing els to do, but only to rehearſe thoſe thinges, which you and I togethers hard maiſter Raphaell tel and declare. Wherefore there was no cauſe whie I ſhold ſtudy to ſet forth ỹ matter with eloquẽce: for aſmuch as his talke cold not be fine & eloquent, being firſte not ſtudied for, but ſodein and vnpremeditate, and then, as you know, of a mã

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better sene in the greke language, then in the latine tong. And my writing, the nigher it shold approche to his homely playne, and simple speche, somuch the nigher shold it go to the trueth: whiche is the only marke, whervnto I do and ought to direct all my trauail and study herin. I graunt and confesse, frende Peter, meself discharged of somuch labour hauing all thies thinges, redy done to my hand, that almoost there was nothing lefte for me to do. Elles other the inuention, or the disposition of this matter might haue required of a witte nother base, nother at all vnlearned bo the some time & leasure, and also some studye. But yf yt were requysyte, and necessary, that the matter shoulde also haue bene wryten eloquentely, and not alone truely: of a suerty that thyng coulde I haue performed by no tyme nor studye. But nowe seyng all thyes cares, stayes, and lettes were taken awaye, wherin elles somuche labour and studye shoulde haue bene employed, and that there remayned no other thynge for me to doo, but onely

to write playnlye the matter as I hard it spoken: that in dede was a thynge lyghte and easye to be done. Howe beit to the dyspatchynge of thys so lytell busynes my other cares and troubles did leaue almooste lesse, then no leasure. Whyles I doo daylye bestowe my tyme abowte layye matters: some to plede, some to heare, some as an arbytratour wyth myne awarde to determyne, some as an vmpier or a iudge with my sentence finallye to discusse. Whiles I go one way to see and visite my frendes an other way about mine owne priuat affaires. Whiles I spend almost al the day abrode emonges other, and the rest due at home among mine own: I leaue to meselfe, I meane to my boke no time. For when I am come home, I muste commen with my wife, chatte with my chyldren, and talke wyth my seruauntes. All the whyche thynges I reken and accompte emonge busynes, forasmuche as they muste of necessytye be done: and done muste they nedes be, oneles a man wyll be a straunger in hys

hys owne howse. And in any wyse a man muste so fassyon and order hys condytyons, and so appointe and dysposse hym selfe, that he be merye, iocunde, and pleasaunte amonge them, whome eyther nature hath prouyded, or chaunce hathe made, or he hymselfe hathe chosen to be the fellowes, and companyons of hys lyfe: so that wyth to muche gentle behaujoure and familyarytye he doo not marre them, and by tomuche sufferaunce of hys seruauntes make them hys mayster. Emonge thyes thinges nowe rehearsed stealethe awaye the daye, the moneth, the yeare. Whem doo I wryte then? And all thys whyle haue I spoken no woorde of slepe, nother yet of meate, whyche emonge a greate number doth waste no lesse tyme, then dothe slepe, wherin almooste halfe the lyfe tyme of man crepethe awaye. I therefore doo wynne and gette onelye that tyme, whyche I steale from slepe and meate. Whyche tyme bycause yt ys verye

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littell, and yet somwhat it is, therfore haue I ones at the last, thoughe it be longe first, finished Vtopia, and haue sent itto you frende Peter to reade and peruse: to the intent that if anye thynge haue escaped me, you might putte me in remembraunce of it. For though in this behalf I do not greatly mistruste meself (whiche woulde God I were somewhat in witte and learnyng, as I am not all of the worste and dullest me mory) yet haue I not so great trust and confidence in it, that I thinke nothing could fall out of my mynde. For John Clement my bope, who as you knowe was there present with vs, whome I suffer to be awaye from no talke, wher in may be anye profit or goodnes (for out of this yong bladed & newe shotte vp corne, whiche hath alredy begonne to springe vp bothe in Latine & Greke learnynge, I looke for plentiful increase at length of goodly ryppe grayne) he I saye hath brought me into a greate doubte. For whereas Hythlodaye (oneles my memory faple me) sayde that the bridge of Amaurote, whiche goeth

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ouer the riuer of Anyder is fyue hundreth paseis, that is to saye, half a myle in lengthe: my Jhon sayeth that ii. hundred of those paseis must be plucked awaye, for that the ryuer conteyneth there not aboue thre hundreth paseis in bredthe. J praye yow hartely calle the matter to youre remembraũce. For if you agree with hym, J also wyll saye as you saye, and confesse me selfe deceaued. But if you cannot remember the thynge, then suerly J wyl write as J haue done, and as myne owne remembraunce serueth me. For as J will take good hede that there be in my booke nothyng false, so if there be any thynge in doubte, J wyll rather tell a lye then make a lye: bicause J had be good thẽ wise rather. Howbeit this matter maye easely be remedied, if you wyll take the paynes to aske the question of Raphaell himselfe by worde of mouthe, if he be nowe with you, or els by youre letters. Which you must nedes do for an other doubte also, whiche hath chaunced, throughe whoes faulte J cannot tell, whether throughe

mynde or powres of Raphaels. For neither we remembred to enquire of hym, nor he to tell vs in what parte of that newe worlde Vtopia is situate. The whiche thinge, I had rather haue spent no small somme of money, then that it should thus haue escaped vs: aswell for that I am ashamed to be ignorant in what sea that Ilande standeth, wherof I write so longe a treatyse, as also because there be with vs certayne men, and especially one deuoute and godly man, and a professour of diuinitie, who is exceedynge desierous to go vnto Vtopia: not for a vayne and curious desiere to see newes, but to the intent he maye further and increase oure religion whiche is there already luckely begonne. And that he may the better accomplyshe and perfourme this his good intent, he is mynded to procure that he maye be sent thether of the bysshoppe, yea and that he hymselfe may be made bishop of Vtopia: beynge nothynge scrupulous herein, that he must obteyne this bysshopricke with suete. For he counteth that a godly suete,

ly knete, whiche procedeth not of the desiere of honour or lucre, but only of a godly zeale. Wherfore I moste earnestly desyere you, frende Peter, to talke with Apthlodape, if you can, face to face, or els to wryte youre letters to hym, and so to worke in this matter, that in this my booke there maye neyther any thynge be founde whiche is untrue, neither any thinge be lacking, whiche is true. And I thinke verely it shalbe well done that you shewe unto hym the booke it selfe. For if I have myssed or fayled in any poynte, or if any faulte have escaped me, no man can so well correcte and amende it, as he can: and yet that can he not do, onelesse he peruse and reade ouer my booke writtē. Moreouer by this meanes shal you perceaue, whether he be well wyllynge and contente that I should undertake to put thys worke in wryting. For if he be mynded to publyshe and putforth his owne labours and trauayles hymselfe, perchaunce he would be lothe, and so would I also, that in publyshynge the Utopiane weale pu-

blyque, I shoulde preuente, and take from hym the flower and grace of the noueltie of this his historie. Howbeit, to saye the verie truthe, I am not yet fully determined with meselfe, whether I wyll put forth my booke or no. For the natures of men be so diuers, the phantasies of some so wayewarde, theire myndes so vnkynde, theire iudgementes so corrupte, that they which leade a merie and a iocounde lyfe, followinge theire owne sensuall pleasures and carnal lustes, maye seme to be in a muche better state or case, thē they that vexe and vnquiete thēselfes with cares and studie for the puttynge forth and publyshynge of some thynge, that maye be either profett or pleasure to other: whiche neuertheles wyl disdaynfully, scornefully, & vnkyndly accepte thesame. The moste parte of al be vnlearned. And a great numbre hath learnynge in contempte. The rude & barbarous alloweth nothynge but that which is verie barbarous in dede. If it be one that hath a lyttell smacke of learnynge, he reiecteth as homely and com-

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men ware whatsoeuer is not stuffed full of olde moughteaten wordes, and that be worne out of vse. Some there be that haue pleasure onely in olde rustie antiquities. And some onely in theire owne doinges. One is so sowre, so crabbed, and so vnpleasaunt, that he can awaye with no mirthe nor sporte. An other is so narrow in ỹ sholders, that he can beare no iestes nor fawntes. Some selie poore soules be so afeard that at euery snappishe worde theire nose shalbe bitten of, that they stande in no lesse drede of euerye quicke and sharpe worde, then he that is bytten of a madde dogge feareth water. Some be so mutable and wauerynge, that euery houre they be in a newe mynde, saynge one thynge sytthynge, and an other thynge standynge. An other sorte sytteth vpon theire allebencheis, & there amonge theire cuppes they geue iudgement of the wittes of writers, & with greate authoritie they condemne euen as pleaseth them euery writer accordyng to his writinge: in moste spiteful maner mockynge, lowtynge, and flow

tynge them: beynge themselfes in the meane season sauffe, and as sayth the prouerbe, out of all daunger of gonne-shotte. ffor whye they be so straunge & smoothe, that they haue not somuch as one heare of an honest man, whereby one may take holde of them. There be moreouer some so vnkynde and vngen tell, that thoughe they take great plea-sure and delectation in the worke, yet for al that they can not fynde in theire hartes to lone the authour therof, nor to afforde hym a good worde: beynge euche lyke vncourteis, vnthankefull, and chourlische guestes. Whiche whē they haue with good and deputie mea-tes well filled theire bellyes, departe home geuynge no thankes to the feaste maker. Go youre wayes nowe & make a costly feaste at youre owne chargeis for guestes so deyntie mouthed, so dy-uers in taste, and bisydes that of so vn kynde and vnthankefull natures. But neuertheles frende Peter do I praye you with Aythlodaye as I willed you before. And as for this matter, I shal-be at my lybertie afterwardes to take

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newe aduisement. Howebeit, seynge I haue taken great paynes and labour in wrytynge the matter, if it may stande with hys mynde & pleasure, I wyll as touchinge the edition or publishing of the booke, followe the counsell and aduise of my frendes, and specially yours. Thus fare you well ryght hartely beloued frende Peter, with youre gentell wyfe: and loue me as you haue euer done, for I loue you better then euer I dyd.

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¶ The fyrste boke of the communyca cion of Raphaell hythlodaye concernynge the beſt ſtate of a commen wealthe.

The moſte victoryous and tryumphante kynge of Englande Henry the eight of that name in all royal vertues Prince moſte peerleſſe, hadde of late in contraverſie with the right hyghe and myghtie king of Caſtell weightye matters and of greate importaunce, for the debatement & final determinatiō wherof ẏ kinges Maieſt. ſēt me Ambaſſadour into flaūders ioined in cōmiſſiō wᵗ cuthebert Tūſtall a man doubteles owte of comparyſon, and whom the kinges maieſtie of late to the greate reioyſyng of all men did preferre to ẏ office of maiſter of ẏ Rolles; but of thys maus prayſes I

will saye nothynge, not bycause I do feare that small credence shalbe geuen to the testymonay that commyth owt of a frindes mouthe: but bicause hys vertue and lernyng be greater and of more excellencye, then that I am able to prayse them: and also in all places so famous, and so perfectlye well knowne, that they nede not nor ought not of me to be praysed, onles I wolde seme to shew and set furth the brightenes of the sonne wyth a candell, as the Prouerbe sayth. There met vs at Bruges (for thus yt was before agreed) they whome theire prince hadde for that matter appoynted commyssyoners, excellente men all. The chiefe and the head of the was the Marcgraue (as they cal him) of Bruges, a right honorable man: but the wisest and the best spoken of them was George Temsice pronolte of Castelles, a man not onlye by lernyng but also by nature of singuler eloquence, and in the lawes profoundelye learned: but in reasonynge, and debatynge of matters what by his naturall witte, & what by dayly exercise, suerlye he hadde fewe fello-

fellowes. After that we hadde ones or twise mette, and vpon certeyne poyntes or artycles could not fully and throughlye agre: they for a certeyne space toke their leaue of vs, & departed to Bruxelle there to knowe theire princes pleasure. I in the meane tyme (for so my busynes laye) wente streyghte thens to Antwerpe. Whyles I was there abydinge often tymes amonge other, but whyche to me was more welcome then annye other, dyd vysite me oue Peter Gyles a Citisien of Antwerpe, a man there in hys contrey of houest reputatyon, and also preferred to hyghe promotyons, worthye truelye of the highest. For it is harde to saye whether the yong man be in lernyuge or in honestye more excellent. For he is bothe of wonderfull vertuous condytyons, and also singulerlye well lerned, and towardes all sortes of people excedynge gentyl. But towardes hys fryndes so kynde harted so louynge, so faythfull/ so trustye, and of so earneste affectyon, that yt were verye harde in any place to fynd a man, that wyth hym in all poyntes of frend-

ſhyppe maye be compared . No man can be moze lowlye oz courteys . No man dſithe leſſe ſymulatyon oz dyſſymulatyon, in no man ys moze prudente ſymplycytye. Beſydes this he is in his talke and communycatyon ſo merye and pleaſaunte, Yea and that wythout harme that throughe hys gentyll intertaynement and hys ſwete and delectable communycatyon in me was greatlye abated and dymynyſhed the feruent deſyre that I hadde to ſee my natyue contreye, my wyffe and my chyldren, whome then I dyd muchelonge and coueytt to ſee, bycauſe that at that tyme I hadde byn moze then .iiij. monythes frō them. Upon a certeyne daye as I was herynge the deuyne ſeruyce in our ladies churche, whyche is the fayreſt the moſte gorgious and curyous churche of buyldynge in all the cytye and alſo moſte frequented of people, and when the deuyne was done, was readye to goo home to my lodgyng, I chaunced to eſpie thys forſayde Peter talkynge wyth a certeyne ſtraunger a man well ſtryken in age wyth a blake

ſonne

sonne burned face, a longe beарde and a cloke caste homely aboute hys shoul-ders, whom by hys fauour & apparrel forthwythe I iudged to be a maryner. But whē thys Peter sawe me, he cum-mythe to me and saluteth me. And as I was aboute to answere hym: see you thys man sayeth he (and therwyth he pointed to the man that I sawe hym talkynge wyth before) I was mynded quod he to bringe hym streyghte home to you. He should haue bene verye wel come to me sayd I for your sake. Naye (quod he) forhys owne sake if you knewe hym, for there is no man this daye lyuynge that can tell you of so manye strange and vnknowne peoples and contreis as this man can. And I know well that you be verye desyrous to heare of suche newes. Than I coniec-tured not farre a mysse (quod I) for euē at the fyrste syghte I iudged hym to be a maryner. Naye (quod he) there ye were greatlye deceaued: he hayth sayled in dede not as the maryner Palynure but as the experte and prudent prince Ulis ses: Yea rather as the auncyent and

sage Philosopher Plato. For thys same Raphaell Hythlodaye (for thys ys hys name) is verye well lerned in the Latyne tonge: but profounde and excellent in the greke tonge: Wherein he euer bestowed more studye than in the lattyne, because he had geuen hym selfe holye to the studye of Phylosphy. Wherof he knowe that there ys nothynge extante in the lattyne tonge that is to anny purpose, sauynge a few of Senecaes & Ciceroes doinges. His patrymonye that he was borne vnto he lefte to his bretherne (for he is a Portugalle borne) and for the desyre that he hadde to see and knowe the farre contreys of the worlde he ioyned him selfe in companye wyth Amerike vespuce, and in the. iij. laste voyages of thoes iiij. that be nowe in prynte and abrode in euerye mans handes he contynued styll in hys companye, sauynge that in te laste voyage he came not home again wyth hym. For he made suche meanes and shyfte what by intreataunce and what by importune sute, ẏ he gotte lyceuce of mayster Amerycke (thoughe it

were

were sore agaynst his will) to be one of the .xxiiij. whyche in the ende of the last voyage were lefte in the contrye of Gulike. He was therfore lefte behynde for hys myndes sake, as one that toke more thoughte and care for trauaylyng, then dynge: haunge customablye in hys mouthe theis sayinges. He that hathe no graue ys couered wyth the skie, and The way to heauen owte of all places is of like lenghth and distance. Which fatalye of his (if God had not bene his betterfrende) he hadde suerlye bought full deere. But after the departynge of Mayster desyuce, when he hadde trauayled thorowghe and abowte manye contreis with .v. of his companyons Gulykyans, at the laste by maruelous chaunce he arryued in Taprobane, frō whens he wente to Calycuit, where he chaunced to fynde certeyne of hys contrey shyppes, wherin he retorned again into hys countreye, nothynge lesse thē lokyd for. All thys when Peter hadde tolde me: I thankyd hym for his gentyll kyndnes that he hadde vouchesaufed to brynge me to the speche of that

 man

man, whose communication he thought sholde be to me pleasaunte and acceptable. And there wyth I turned me to Raphaell and when we hadde hayled thone thother and hadde spoken thies comē wordes, that be customably spoken at the fyrste metynge and acquentaunce of straungers we wente thens to my house and there in my gardeyne vpon a benche couerd wyth grene torues we satte downe talking togethers. There he tolde vs howe that after the departynge of vespuce, he and hys fellowes that tarryed behynde in Gulyke begaanne by lytle and lytle thoroughe fayre and gentle speche to winne the loue and fauour of the people of that contreye in so muche that within shorte space, theye dydde dwell amonges them not onlye harmelese, but also occupyed wyth them verye familyerly. He tolde vs also that they were in hyghe reputatyon and fauoure wyth a certeyne greate man (whose name and contreye ys nowe quyte owte of my remēbraunce) which of hys mere lyberalyte dyd beare the costes and charges

ges of hym and hys fyue companions. And beſydes that gaue them a truſtye guyde to conducte them in theyre iourney (whyche by water was in botys and by lande in wagains) and to bring them to other princes wytheyerye frindlye commendatyons. Thus after many dayes iourneis, he ſayd they foũd townys and cytyes, and weale publyques full of people gouerned by good and holſom lawes. ffor vnder the lyne equynoctyall and of bothe ſydes of the ſame as farre as the ſonne doth extend hys courſe, lyeth (quod he) greate and wyde deſertes and wyldernesſes parched burned and dryed vppe with continuall & intollerable heate. All thynges be hydeous terryble lotheſome and vnpleaſaunte to be holde: all thynges owte of faſhyon and complynes inhabyted wyth wylde beaſtes and ſerpentes, or at the leaſte wyſe wyth people that be no leſſe ſauage wylde and noyſome, then the verye beaſtes themſelfes be. But a lytle farther beyonde that all thynges begyn by lytle and lytle to waxe pleaſaunte. The ayre

softe temperate and gentle. The groūd couered wyth grene grasse. Lesse wildnes in the beastes. At the laste shall ye come again to people cities, & townes wherin is contynuall entercourse and occuppinge of marchandyse and chaffare not onelye amonge them selfes and wyth theyre borderers, but also wyth marchauntes of farre contreys bothe by lande and water. Ther I had occasion (sayde he) to go to man yecontreys of euery syde. For there was no shyppe reddye to anye voyage or iorney, but I and my fellowes were into it verye gladlye receauyde. The shyppes that they founde fyrste were made playne flatte and broade in the botome troughewyse. The sayles were made of greate russhes or of wyckers, and in some places of lether. Afterwarde they founde shyppes wyth rydged kyeles: and sayles of canuas, yea and shortelye after hauynge all thynges lyke owers. The shyppemen also verye experte and connynge both in the sea and in the wether. But he sayde that he founde greate fauour and

frinde-

frynde shyppe amonge them for teachynge them the feate and vse of the lode stone. Whych to them before that tyme was vnknowne. And therefore they were wonte to be verye tymerous and fearefull vpon the sea. Nor to venter vpon it, but onlye in the somer time. But nowe they haue such a confidence in that stone, that they feare not stormy wynter, in so doynge ferther frome care then ieopardye. In so muche that it is greatlye to be doubted, leste that thynge thorough theyre owne folyshe hardynes shall tourne them to euyll and harme, whyche at the fyrste was supposed shoulde be to them good and commodyous. But what he tolde vs that he sawe, in euerye contrey wheare he came, it were verye longe to declare. Nother it is my purpose at this time to make rehersall therof. But peraduenture in an other place, I wyll speake of yt, chyefelye suche thynges as shalbe profytable to be knowne, as in specyall be thoese decrees and ordinaunces that he marked to be well and wyselye prouyded and enacted amonge suche peo-

ples

ples as do lyue to gethere in a cyuyle pollycye and good ordre. ffor of suche thynges dyd we busilie enquyre, and demaunde of hym, and he lyke wise verye wyllyngelye tolde vs of the same, But as for mõsters, because they be no newes, of them we were nothynge inquisitine. ffor nothynge is more easye to be founde, then debarking Scyllaes, rauenyng Celenes, & Lestrygones deuowerers of people, and suche lyke greate and vncredyble monsters, but to fynde cytyzyns ruled by good and holsome lawes, that ys an excedynge rare and harde thynge. But as he markyd manye fonde and folysshe lawes in thoose newe founde landes, so he reherside manye actes and constytutyons wherby thies our cytyes, nations, contreys and kyngdomes maye takeensample to amende theyre faultes enormytyes and errors, wherof in another place as I sayde I wyll intreate. Now at thys tyme I am determyned to reherse onlye that he tolde vs of the maners customes, lawes, and ordinaunces of the vtopians. But fyrste I wyll re-

pete

pete our former communycatyon by thoccasyon, and as I myghte saye the dryfte wherof he was browghte into the mentyon of that weale publyque. For when Raphaell hadde verye prudently touched dyuers thynges that be amysse sume here and sume there, yea verye manye of bothe partes, and agayne hadde spoken of suche wyse and prudent lawes and decrees as be establyshed and vsyde bothe here amonge vs and also there emonge them, as a man so connynge and experte in the lawes and customes of euery seueral cou̅treye, as though into what place so euer he came geaste wyse, there he had lede al his life: then Peter much meruellyng at ẏ man: Surely mayster Raphaell (quod he) I wondere greatlye whie you gette you not into some Kinges courte, for I am sewre there is no prynce lyuynge that wolde not be very gladde of yowe: as a man not onlye able hyghelye to delyte hym wyth youre profounde lernynge, and thys youre knowledge of contreis and peoples, but also are meat to instructe him with

exam-

examples and helpe hym wyth counsell. And thus doynge yowe shal bring yowre selfe in a verye good case, and also be in habylytye to helpe all youre friudes and kynsfolke. As concernyng my fryndes and kynsfolke (quod he) I passe not greatly for them. For I think I haue suffycyentlye done my parte towardes them all readye. For thies thinges that other men doo not depart frō vntyll they be olde and sicke, yea which they be then verye lothe to leaue when they can no lenger kepe, those verye same thynges dyd I beynge not oulye lustye, & in good helth, but also in ẏ flowere of my youthe, deuyde among my fryndes and kynsfolkes which I think wyth thys my liberalytye owghte to holde them contentyd and not to requyre nor to looke that besydes thys I shoulde for theyre sakes gyue my selfe in bondage to kynges. Naye god forbedde (quod peter) it is not my mynd ẏ you shoulde be in bondage to kynges, but as a retaynoure to them at youre pleasure whyche sewrelye I thynke ys the nyghestе waye that you can deuyse

howe

howe to bestowe youre tyme frutefullye, not onlye for the pryuate commoditye of your fryndes and for the general prossytte of all sortes of people, but also for the auauncemente of your selfe to a muche welthier state and condytyon then you be nowe in, To a welthyer condition (quod Raphael) by that meanes that my mynde standethe cleane agaynst? Nowe I syue at lybertye after myn owne mynde and pleasure, whiche I thynke verye fewe of thes greate states and peeres of realmes cansaye. Yea and there be ynowe of them that sike for greate mens frindeshippes: and therfore thynke it no great hurte, if they haue not me nor .ij. or .iij. suche other as I am. Well I perceyue plainlye frind Raphaell (quod I) that yowe be desierous nother of riches, nor of powre. And truly I haue in no lesse reuerēce and estimacyon a man that is of your mind, then anny of them al that be so high in pour and aucthoritie. But you shall doo as it becommith yow, yea and accordinge to this wisedome and thys highe and free couraghe of youres, yf yowe can

finde

fynde in youre harte so to appoynte & dyspose youre selfe that you maie apply youre wytte and delygence to the profyt of the weale publyque, though it be sume what to youre owne payne and hyndraunce. And thys shall yow neuer so well doo, nor wyth so greate profitte perfourme, as yf yowe be of sum great prynces councell, and put in his heade (as I doubte not but you wyll) honeste oppynyons, and vertuous persuasyons. For from the prynce, as from a perpetuall well sprynge cummythe amonge the people the floode of all that is good or euell. But in yowe is so perfitte lernynge that wythowte anye experience and agaynne so greate experyence that wythoute anye lernynge yowe maye well be anny kinges councellour. You be twyse deceaued maister More (quod he) fyrste in me, and agaynne in the thing it selfe. For nother is in me that habilitye that yowe force vpon me, and yf it were neuer so muche, yet in dysquieting myne owne quietnes I should nothing further the weale publique, for fyrst of all the moste parte of all princes haue

more

more delyte in warlike matters and feates of cheualrie (the knowlege whe rof I nother haue nor desire) than in the good feates of peace, and employe muche more studye howe by right or by wrong to enlarge their dominions, thã howe well and peaceablie to rule and gouerne that they haue all redie. Moreouer they that be counsellours to kinges, euery one of them eyther is of him selfe so wyse in dede that he nede not orelles he thinketh him self so wise, that he will not allowe an other mans counsell: sauing that they do shamefully and flatteringly geue assent to the fond and foolishe sayinges of certeyn greate men. Whose fauours, bicause they be in high authoritie with their prince, by assentacion and flattering they labor to optey ne, And verily it is naturally geuen to all men to esteame their owne inuentyons best. So both the rauen and the ape thincke their owne pongones fayrest. Than if a man in such a company, where some disdayne and haue despite at other mens inuentions, and some commende their owne best, if among suche men

I saye a man shoulde bringe furth any thinge: that he hayth redde done in tymes paste, or that he hathe sene done in other places, there the hearers fare as thoughe the hole existimacion of theyr wisdome were in ieopardy to be ouerthrowē, and that euer after they should be counted for very dilerdes, onles they colde in other mens inuentions pycke out matter to reprehende and find fawt at. If all other pore helpes faile: then this is their extreame refuge. Thies thinges (say they) pleased oure forefathers and auncetours: wolde god wee coulde be so wise as they were: and as though they had wittely concluded the matter, and withthis answere stoppid euery mans mouthe, they sitt downe agapn. As who should saye it were a very daungerous matter, if a man in any pointe should be founde wiser then his forefathers were. And yet be we contēt to suffer the best and wittiest of their decrees to lye vnexecuted: but if in any thinge a better ordre mighte haue bene taken, than by them was, there are we take faste holde and finde many fawtes.

Many

Many times haue I chaunced vpon suche prowde lewde ouerthwarte and waywarde Judgementes, yea and oues in Englande. I praye yow Syre (quod I) haue yow bene in owr cōtrey? yea forsothe (quod he) and their I tarried for the space of. iiij. or. v. monythes together, not longe after the insurrecci on, that the westerne Englishe men made agaynst their kynge, whych by their owne myserable and pitefull slaughter was suppressed and endyd. In the meane season I was much bounde and beholden to the righte reuerende father Jhon Morton Archebishop and cardenall of Canterburye and at that tyme also Lorde chauncellour of Englād a man maister Peter (for maister More knoweth all reddy that I wyll saye) not more honorable for his aucthority, thē for his prudence & vertue. He was of a meane stature & streken in age though, yet bare he his body vpryght. In his face did shine such an amiable reuerence as was pleasaunte to beholde. Gentell in cōmunycatyon yet earneste and sage. He had greate delyte manye

tymes wyth roughe speche to hys sewters to proue , but wythowte harme, what prompte wytte, and what bolde spryte were in euery man. In the which as in a vertue much agreinge with his nature, so that therewyth were not iopyn dimpudency, he toke greate delectacyon. And the same person as apte and mete to haue an admynystracyon in the weale publique he dyd louingly embrace. In hys speche he was fyne eloquent and pythye. In the lawe he had profounde knowledge, in witte he was incomparable, and in memory wonder full excellent. Thes qualytyes whych in hym were by nature synguler, he by learnynge and vse had made perfytte. The kynge putt muche truste in hys councell the weale publyque also in a maner leaned vnto hym when I was there. For euen in the chiefe of hys youth he was take from schole into the Courte, and there passyd all hys tyme in muche trouble and busynes, & was contynually troubled and tossed with dyuers mysfortunes and aduersytyes. And so by many and greate daungers

he

he lerned thee xperience of the wordle, whyche so beynge learned can not ease ly be forgotten. It chaunced on a certayne daye when I sate at hys table, there was also a certayne laye man cũnynge in the lawes of yowre Realme. Whyche, I can not tel wherof takyng occasyon, began dyligently and busily to prayse that strayte and rygorous iustice, which at that tyme was there executed vpon fellones, who as he sayde were for the moste part. xx. hanged together vpon one gallowes. And seyng so fewe escappd punyshement he sayd he coulde not chewse but greatly wonder and maruell, howe and by whateuill lucke it should so cum to passe that theues neuertheles were in euery place so ryffe and ranke. Naye Syr quod I (for I durst boldely speake my mind before the Cardynall) maruell nothing herat, for thys punyshement of theues passeth of the lymytes Justyce, and is also very hurtefull to the weale publyque. For it is to extreame and crewell a punishement for thefte, and yet not sufficient to refrayne men from

theft. ffor symple theefte is not so greate an offence, that it owght to be punished with death. Nother there is any punishmente so horrible that it can kepe them from stealynge whych haue no other crafte wherby to get their liuing. Therefore in this poynte, not pow only, but also the moste part of the worlde be lyke euyll scholemasters whych be redy are to beate then to teache their scholers. ffor great and horryble punyshemētes be appoynted for theues, whereas muche rather prouysyon shoulde haue bene made, that there were some meanes wherby they might gett theyr lyuynge, so that no man shoulde be dryuen to thys extreame necessitie, fyrst to steale, & then to dye. Yes (quod he) this matter is well ynoughe prouyded for all redy. There be hādy craftes there is husbandry to gett their liuinge by if they wolde not wyllingely be nowght. Nay (quod I) you shall not skape so, for fyrste of all I wyll speake nothynge of them that come home owte of warre nay mede and lame, as not longe ago owte of blacke heath fylde, and a lityll

before

before that owt of the warres in ffrañ
ce: suche (I say) as put their lyues in ie-
opardy for the weale publiques or the
kinges sake, and by the reason of wea-
kenes and lamenes be not able to occu-
py their olde craftes, and be to aged to
lerne newe: of them I wyll speake no-
thinge, because warre lyke the tyde eb-
beth and floweth. But let vs consydere
those thinges that chañce dayly before
our eyes. ffyrste there is a great num
bre of gentilmen, which can not be con
tent to lyue ydle them selfes like dor-
res of that whiche other haue laboryd
for: their tenauntes I meane, whō they
polle and shaue to ye quycke by reysing
their rentes (for this only poynte of fru
galitye do they vse, men els thoroughe
their lauasse and prodigall spendynge
able to bringe them selfes to very beg-
gery) thies gentilmen (I say) do not on-
ly liue in ydilnes them selfes, but also
carry about with them at their tayles a
greate flocke or trayne of ydell and loy
trynge seruynge men, whyche neuer
learned any crafte wherby to get their
liuinges. Thies men as sone as theyr

maister is dead, or be sicke them selfes, be incontinent thruste owte of doores. For gẽtlemen had rather kepe pdil persones then syche men, and many times the dead mans heyr is not able to maintayne so great a howse, and kepe so many seruinge men as his father dyde. Then in the meane season they that be thus destytute of seruice, other starue for honger, or manfully playe the theaues. For what wolde yow haue them to do? When they haue wandred abrode so longe vntyll they haue worne threde bare their apparell and also appayred their health, then gentlemen because of their pale and sicke faces and patched cotes wyll not take them into seruice. And husbandmen dare not sett them a worke: knowyng well ynough that he is nothynge mete to doo trewe and faythfull seruice to a poore man wyth a spade and a mattoke for small wages and harde fare, whyche beynge deynterly and tenderly pampered vp in pdilnes and pleasure, was wont with a swoorde and a buckeler by hys syde to iette through the strete with a bragging

loke

looke and to thynke hym selfe to good to be any mans mate. Maye by saynt Marie ser (quod the lawier) not so, for this kinde of men muste we make most of. ffor in them as men of stowter stomackes, bolder spyrytes, and manlyer currages then handy craftes men and plowe men be, doth consyste the hole powre strengthe and puisaunce of oure hoste when we muste fight in battaill. ffor sothe ser aswel powe myghte saye (quod I) that for warres sake you muste cherysshe theues. ffor sewerly yow shal neuer lacke theues whyles yowe haue the. No nor theues be not the most fal se and fayntharted soldiers, nor souldi ours be not the cowardlyste theues: so well thees. ij. craftes agree together. But this fawte, though it be muche v sed among yow, yet is it not peculiar to yow only, but commen also almost to all nacyons. Yet ffraunce besydes thys is troubled and infected wyth a muche sorer plage. The hole realme is fylled and besieged wyth hierede soldi ours in peace tyme, yf that be peace, whyche be brought in vnder the same

coloure and pretence, that haith persua
ded yow to kype thies ydell seruynge
men. For thies wisefooles and very ar-
chedoltes thought the wealth of the ho
le contrey herin to consist, yf there we-
re euer in a readynes a stronge and a se
wer garrisō, specyallye of olde practy-
sed soldyours, for they put no truste at
all in men vnexercysed. And therfore
they must be fayne to seke for warre to
thende they maye euer haue practysed
souldyours and cunnynge mansleers:
leaste that (as it is pretilie sayde of Sa
luste) their handes and their myndes
thoroughe ydylnes or lacke of exercyse
thoulde waxe dull. But howe pernycy-
ous and pestylente a thynge it is to
maynteyne suche beastes, the ffrenche
men by there owne harmes haue lear-
ned, and the examples of the Romay-
nes, Carthaginiens, Siriens and of
many other contreys do manyfestly de
clare. For not only the empire, but also
the fieldys and citys of all thies, by di-
uers occasyons haue bene ouerrūned
and destroyed of their owne armies be
fore hand had in a reddines. Now how
vnne-

vnnecessary a thynge thys is hereby it
maye appere: that the ffrenche souldi
ours whyche from their youthe haue
bene practysed and brede in feates of
armes doo not cracke nor auaunce the
selfes to haue verye often gotte the vp-
perhande and masterye of your newe
made and vnpractysed soldiours. But
in thys poynte I wyll not vse manye
wordes leaste perchaunce I maye se-
me to flatter yow. No nor those same hā
dy craft men of yours in cities, nor yet
the rude & vplandishe ploughemen of
the cōtrey, are not supposed to be great-
ly affraid of your gentilmens pdill ser
ning men, onles it be suche as be not of
body or stature correspondent to theyr
strenghte and currage, orels whose
bolde stomackes be dyscourraged
thoroughe pouertye. Thus yowe
maye see, that yt ys not to be feared
leaste they shoulde be effemynated
they yf were broughte vppe in good
craftes and laborsome wourkes, whe-
reby to gett theyre lyuynge, whose
stowte and sturdye bodyes (for gent
lemen vouchesauffe to corrupte and

spill none but picked and chosen men) nowe ot her by reason of rest and ydilnes be brought to weakenes, orels by to easy and womanlye exercises be made feble and vnable to endure hardenes. Trewly howe soeuer the case stondeth, thys me thinketh is nothyng a veyleable to the weale publique, for warre sacke, whyche yowe neuer haue, but when yow wyll your selfes, to kepe and maintepn an vnnumerable flocke of that sort of men, that be so troblesome and noyous in peace, wherof yow owght to haue a thowsande times more regard thē of warre But yet this is not onlye the necessary cause of stealing. There is another which as I suppose is proper and peculiare to yow Englishe men alone. What is that, quod the Cardenall. forsoth (quod I) your shepe that were wōt to be so myke and tame, and so smal eaters, now, as I heare saie, be become so greate deuowerers and so wylde, that they eate vp and swallow downthe very men them selfes. They consume destroy and deuoure hole fieldes howses and cities. For looke in what partes of

the

the realme doth growe the fyrſt, and therfore dearſt woll, there noble men, and gentlemen: yea and certeyn Abbot tes, holy men god wote, not contenting them ſelfes with the yearely reuennues and profyttes that were wont to grow to theyr forefathers and predeceſſours of their landes, nor beynge content that they liue in reſt and pleaſure nothyng profytyng ye muche noyinge the weale publique: leaue no grounde for tyllage: they encloſe all in paſtures: they throw downe houſes: they plucke downe townes, and leaue nothing ſtondynge but only the churche to make of it a ſheephowſe. And as thoughe yow loſte no ſmall quantity of grounde by foreſtes chaſes laundes and parkes, thoſe good holy men turne all dwellinges places and all gle beiande into deſolation and wildernes. Therfore that one couetous and vnſatiable cormaraunte and verye plage of his natyue contrey may compaſſe abowte and incloſe many thouſād acres of grounde to gether within one pale or hedge, the huſbandmen be thruſt owte of their owne, or els other by co-

nepne or fraude, or by vyolent oppreſ-
ſion they be put beſydes it, or by wron-
ges and iniuries they be ſo weried that
they be compelled to ſell all: by one
meanes therfore or by other, other by
howke or crooke they muſt nedes de-
parte awaye, poore, ſylie, wretched ſou-
les men, women, huſbandes, wyues
fatherles chyldren, widdowes, wofull
mothers with their ponge babes, and
their hole houſholde ſmal in ſubſtaū-
ce, and muche in nombre, as huſban-
drie requireth many handes. Awaye
they trudge I ſay out of their knowen
and accuſtomed howſes, fyndyng no
places to reſt in. All their houſholde
ſtuffe, whiche is verye lytle worth,
though it myght well abyde the ſale:
yet beyng ſodeynelye thruſt out, they
be conſtrayned to ſell it for a thyng of
nought. And when they haue wande-
ryng about ſone ſpent that, what can
they els do but ſteale, and then iuſtelye
God wote behanged, or els go about a
beggyng? And yet then alſo they be
caſt in priſon as vagabounde, becau-
ſe they go about and worke not: whom

no

no mā will set a worke, though they ne uer so willingly offer them selfes ther-to. ffor one shepherde or heard man is ynough to eate vp that grounde with cattel, to the occupying wherof about husbandrye many handes were requp-spte. And this is also the cause that vic tualles be nowe in many places dea-rer. Yea beside this ỹ price of wolle is so risen that poore folkes, whiche were wont to worke it and make cloth of it, be nowe able to bye none at all. And by thys meanes verye manye be fayne to forsake worke, & to giue them selfes to idelnes. ffor after that so mu che grounde was inclosed for pasture, an infinite multitude of shepe died of the rotte, suche vengeaunce God toke of their inordinate and vnsaciable co-uetousnes, sendyng amonge the shepe that pestiferous morepn, which much more iustely should haue fallen on the shepemasters owne heades. And tho-ugh ỹ nūbre of shepe increase neuer so fast, yet the price falleth not one myte, because there be so fewe sellers. ffor they be almoste all cōmen into a fewe

ryche

riche mens handes, whome no neade driueth to sell before they lust, and they luste not before they may sell as deare as they lust. Now the same cause bryngeth in licke dearth of the other kindes of cattell, yea and that so much the more, bycause that after farmes pluckyd downe, and husbandry decayed, ther is no man that passyth for the breadyng of ponge stoore. ffor thees ryche men bryuge not vp the ponge ones of greate cattell as they do lābes. But first they bye them abrode very chepe, and afterward when they be fattede in their pastures they sell them agayne exceedyng deare. And therfor (as I suppose) the hole incommoditie herof is not yet felte. ffor yet they make dearth only in those places where they sell. But when they shall fetche them awaye from thens wheare they be bredde faster then they can be brought vp: then shall there also be felte great dearth when stoore begynnyth to faple their, whear the ware ys bought. Thus the vnreasonable couetousnes of a fewe hath turned ỹ thyng to the vtter vndoyng of your Iland in

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the whiche thyng the chiefe felicitie of
your realme dyd cõsiſt. ffor this great
dearth of victualles cauſeth euery mã
to kepe as lytle houſes and as ſmall
hoſpitalitie as he poſſible maye. And
to put awaye their ſeruauntes: whe-
ther I praye you but a beggynge: or
els whiche thies gentle bloodis and
ſtoute ſtomakes, wyll ſoner ſet theyr
myndes vnto a ſtealinge? Nowe to a-
mende the matters to this wretched
beggerye, and myſerable pouertie is
ioyned great wantonnes, importunate
ſuperfluytie, and exceſſiue ryote. ffor
not only gentlye mens ſeruauntes, but
alſo handy craft men: yea and almoſte
the ploughemen of the countrey, with
all other ſortes of people, vſe muche
ſtraunge and prowde newe fangleines
in their apparrell, and to muche prodi-
gal riotte and ſumptuous fare at their
table. Nowe bawdes, qweynes,
hoores, harlottes, ſtrumpettes, bro-
thelhouſes, ſtewes, and yet an other
ſtewes, wine tauernes, ale houſes, and
tipling houſes, with ſo many noughty
lewde and vnlawfull games, as dice,

tardes, tables, tennyes, bolles, coytes, do not al thys ſende the haũters of thẽ ſtreyght a ſtealynge when theyr money is gone. Caſte out thies pernycious abomynacyons, make a lawe that they whyche plucked downe fermes and townes of huſbandrye, ſhall buylde them vp agayne, or els yelde and vprender the poſſeſſyon of them to ſuche as wyll goo to the coſte of buyldynge them anewe. Suffer not thies ryche men to bye vp all, to ingroſſe and forſtalle, and with theyr monopolye to kepe the market alone as pleaſe them. Let not ſo manye be brought vp in idelnes, lett huſbandrye and tyllage be reſtored agayne, let clothe workynge be renewed, that there maye be honeſt labours for thys idell ſorte to paſſe theyre tyme in profytablye, whyche hytherto other powertye hathe cauſed to be theues, or elles nowe be other vagabondes, or idell ſeruynge men, and ſhortelye wylbe theues. Dowteles oneles powe fynde a remedye for thyes enormytyes, powe ſhalbe

in vayne auaunce your selfes of exe-
cutinge iustice vpon fellones. For this
iustice is more beautyfull then iuste or
profytable. For by sufferynge your
youthe wantonlye and vicyouslye to
be brought vp, and to be infected euen
from theyr tender age vp lytle and
lytle wyth vyce: than a goddes name
to be punyshed, when they commytte
the same faultes after they be comen
to mannes state, whiche frome
ther youthe they were euer lyke to
doo: In thys pointe I praye yowe
what other thynge doo yowe, then
make theues, and then punyshe them?
Nowe as I was thus speakynge, the
Lawier beganne to make hym selfe
readye to aunswere, and was deter-
mined wyth hym selfe to vse the com-
mon fassyon and trade of disputers,
whyche be more dylygent in reher-
synge, then aunswerynge, as thynking
the memorye worthye of the chiefe
prayse. In dede syr (quod he) yow haue
sayd well beinge but a straunger, and
one that myght rather here somme
thynge of thyes matters, then haue

anye exacte or perfecte knowledge of theſame, as I will incontinent by open proffe make manifeſt and playn. ffor firſte I wyll reherſe in ordre all that you haue ſayde: then I wyll declare in what thynge powe be deceaued, through lacke of knowledge, in all our faſſions, maners and cuſtomes: and laſte of all I wyll aunſwere to your argumentes, and confute them euery one. ffyrſte therfore I wyll begynne where I prompſed. ffoure thynges powe ſemed to me: hold your peace (quod the Cardynall) for by ſpke powe wyll make no ſhorte aunſwere, whiche make ſuch a begynning, wherfore at thys tyme powe ſhall not take the paynes to make youre aunſwere, but kepe it to youre nexte meatynge, whiche I would be ryght gladde that it myght be euen to morowne nexte (onles other powe or mayſter Raphaell haue any earneſt lette). But now maiſter Raphaell, I woulde very gladly heare of pow, whie pow thynke theſte not worthy to be puniſhed with death: or what other punyſhment you can deuyſe

vpse more expedient to the weale publique. For I am fewer powe are not of that mynde, that powe woulde haue theste escape vnpunyshed. For if now the extreme punishment of death cannot cause them to leaue stealynge, then if ruffians & rubbers shoulde be fewer of their lyues, what violence, what fea re were able to holde their handes frō robbynge, whiche would take the mitigacion of the punishment, as a verye peruocation to the mischiefe? Verily my lorde (quod I) I thynke it no right nor iustice that ỹ losse of money should cause the losse of mans lyfe. For myne opinion is that all the goodes in the worlde are not able to counteruayle mans lyfe. But if they wold thus say: that the breaking of iustice, & the transgression of the lawes is recompensed with this punishmēt, and not the losse of the money, then why maye not thys extreame iustice wel be called extreme iniurie? For neither so cruel gouernaūce, so strepte rules, and vnmercyfull lawes be allowable, that if a small offence be committed, by and by the

ſworde ſhoulde be drawen: For ſo ſtorcall ordinaunces are to be borne wythall, as to counte all offences of ſuche equalitie, that the kyllynge of a man, or the takynge of hys money from hym were bothe a matter, and the one no more heynous offence then the other: betwene the whyche two, yf we haue anye reſpecte to equitie, no ſymplytude or equalytie conſyſteth. God commaundeth vs that we ſhall not kyll. And be we then ſo haſtie to kyll a man for takynge a lytle money? And yf anye man woulde vnderſtande kyllynge by this commaundement of GOD to bee forbydden after no larger wyſe then mans conſtitucions deſyneth kyllynge to be lawfull, then whye maye it not lykewyſe by mannes conſtitutions be determyned after what ſorte hoordome, fornication, and periurye maye be lawfull? For where as by the permiſſion of GOD no man hathe power to kyll nother hym ſelfe, nor yet anye other man: then yf a lawe made by the conſente of

men

men concernynge slaughter of men: ought to be of suche strengthe force and vertue, that they whyche contrarye to the commaundement of GOD haue kylled those, whome thys constitucion of man commaunded to be kylled, be cleane quyte and exempte owte of the bondes and daunger of Goddes commaundemente: shall it not then by thys reason followe that the powre of Goddes commaundement shall extende no further, then mannes lawe dothe defyne, and permytte? And so shall it come to passe, that in lyke manner mans constitucions in al thynges shal determyne howe farre the obseruation of all Goddes commaundementes shall extende. To be shorte Mopses lawe, thoughe it were vngentle and sharpe, as a lawe that was gyuen to bondmen, yea and them verye obstinate, stubborne, and styf necked: yet it punnyshed theefte by the purse, and not wyth deathe. And let vs not thynke that GOD in the

newe lawe of clemencie and mercie, vnder the whiche he ruleth vs with fatherlie gentleneſſe, as his dere chyldrē hath geuen vs greater ſcoupe & licenſe to execute crueltie, one vpon an other. Now ye haue hard the reaſons whereby, I am perſwaded that this puniſhmēt is vnlawful. ffurthermore I thinke there is no body that knoweth not, how vnreſonable, yea how pernitious a thynge it is to ỹ weale publiqne, that a theſe & a homicide or murderer, ſhuld ſuffer equall and lyke punyſhmēt. ffor the theſe ſeing that man, that is condempned for theſte in no leſſe ieoperdie, nor iudged to no leſſe puniſhment, then hym that is conuict of mānſlaughter: through thys cogitacion onlye he is ſtronglye and forcyblye prouoked, and in a maner cōſtreyned to kyl him, whom els he would haue but robbed. ffor the murder ones done he is in leſſe care, and in more hope that the dede ſhall not be bewrayed or knowen, ſeynge the partye is nowe deade and rydde out of the waye, whyche onelye myght haue vttered & diſcloſed it. But

if he

if he chaūce to be take & discriued: yet he is in no more daunger and ieopardie then yf he had commytted but single fellonye. Therfore whyles we goo about wyth suche cruelte to make theues aferd, we prouoke thē to kyll good men. Now as touchyng this question, what punyshemente were more commodyous and better: that truelye in my iudgement is easyer to be founde, then what punyshement were worse. ffor whie should we dowt that to be a good and a profytable waye for the punyshemente of offendours, whyche we knowe dydde in tymes paste so longe please the Romaynes, men in thadmynystratyon of a weale publyque moste experte polytyque and cunnyng? Such as amonge them weare comycte of great and heynous trespaces, thē they condempned into ston quarris, and in to mynes to dygge mettalle, there to be kepte in chaynes all the dayes of theyr lyfe. But as concernyng this matter, I allow the ordenaunce of no nation so well as that I sawe (whyles I trauayled a brode abowt the worlde)

vsed in Persia amonge the people that commenlye be called the polyleryte s. Whose lande is bothe large and ample, and also well and wyttelye governed: and the people in all conditiōs free and ruled by their owne lawes, saving that they paye a verely tribute to the great king of Persia But bicause they be farre from the sea, compassed & closed in almoste rounde abowte wyth hygh mountaynes, and do content thē selfes wyth the frutes of theyr owne lande, whyche is of yt selfe verye fertyle and frutefull: for thys cause nother they goo to other cowntreys, nor other cumme to them And accordynge to the olde custome of the lande, they desyre not to enlarge the bowndes of theyre domynyons: and those that they haue by reason of the hyghe hylles be easelye defended: and the trybute whyche they paye to the myghtye kynge settethe them quyete and free from warfare. Thus theyre lyffe ys commodyous rather then gallawnte, and maye better be callede happye:

or luckye, then notable or famous. For they be not knowne asmuche, as by name, I suppose, sauynge onlye to theyr nexte neyghbours and borderours. They that in thys lande be attaynted and conuycte of felonye make restitution of that they stoole to the ryghte owner: and not (as they doo in other landes) to the kynge: whome they thynke to haue no more ryghte to the theefe stolen thynge than the thiefe him selfe hath. But if the thynge be loste or made awaye, then the value of yt is paide of the goodes of such offendours, whyche elles remaynyth all hole to theire wyffes and chyldrene. And they them selfes be condempned to be common labourers: and onles the theefte be verye heynous, they be nother locked in prysone, nor fettered in gyues, but be vsed and goo at large, laborynge in the cõmon workes. They that refuse labour, or goo slowly & slacly to there worke, be not only tied in chaynes, but also pricked forward with stripes. They that be diligent about their worke lyue without checke or rebuke.

Euery

Euery nyght e they be called in by name: and be locked in theyr chambers. Beſyde their dayly labour their lyfe is nothyng harde or incommodyous. Their fare is indyfferent good, borne at the chardges of the weale publyque, bycauſe they be commen ſeruauntes to the commen wealth. But their charges in all places of the land is not borne a lyke. ffor in ſome partes that is beſtowed vpon them is gathered of almes. And though that waye be vncertayn, yet the people be ſo full of mercye and pytie, that none is fownde more profytable or plentyfull. In ſome places certayn landis be appoynted herevnto: of the reuenewes wherof they be fownde. And in ſome places euery mā geuyth a certayne tribute for the ſame vſe and purpoſe. Agayne in ſome partes of the lande thies ſeruyng men (for ſo be thies damned perſons called) do no common worke, but as euery priuate man nedeth labourers, ſo he cometh into the markette place, and there hireth ſome of them for meate and drynke, and a certayne limityd wayges by

the

the daye, sumwhaat cheper then he shoulde hire a free man. It is also lawfull for them to chastyce the slowth of thies seruynge men wyth stryppes. By thys meanes they neuer lacke woorke, and besydes their meate and dryncke euery one of them bryngeth daily sum thynge into the common treasourye. All and euery one of them be apparrayled in one colour. Their heddys be not poled or shauen, but rownded a lytle aboue the eeres. And the typpe of the one eare is cut of. Euery one of them may take meat and drincke of their frindes, & also a cote of their owne colour: but to receyue money is deathe, as well to the geuer, as to the receyuour. And no lesse ieopardie it is for a free man to receyue money of a seruynge man for any manner of cause: and lykewyse for seruynge men to touche weapons. The seruyng mē of euery seuerall shyere be dystynct and knowen from other by their seuerall and dystynct badges: whyche to caste away is death: as it is also to be seene owte of the precynct of their owne shyre, or to talke wyth a

seruinge

seruynge man of another shyere. And it is no lesse daunger to them for to intende to runne awaye, then to do yt in dede. Yea and to concele suche an enterpryes in a seruynge man yt is deathe, in a free man seruytude. Of the contrarye parte, to hym that openeth & vtereth suche cownselles be decreyde large giftes: to a free man a great somme of moneye, to a seruynge man freedome: and to them bothe forgeuynes and pardone of that they were of councell in that pretence. So that yt can neuer be so good for them to goo forwarde in theyre euyll purpose, as by repentaunce to turne backe. Thys is the lawe and ordre in thys behalfe, as I haue shewed yow. Wherin what humanytye is vsede, howe farre yt is frome crueltye, and howe commodyous yt is, yow doo playnlye perceue: For asmuche as the ende of their wrath and punyshemente intendeth nothyng elles, but the distructyon of vyces, and sauynge of men: wyth so vsynge and orderynge them, that theye can not chuse but be good, and what harme

so

so euer theye dyd before, in the re-
respdewe of theyre lyffe to make a-
mendys for the same. Moreouer yt
is so lytle feared, that they shoulde
torne agayne to theyre vycyous con-
dytyons, that wayefarynge men
wyll for theyre sauegarde chuse them
to theyre guydes before annye other,
in euerye sheyre chaungynge and ta-
kynge newe. For yf they wolde com-
mytte robberye, theye haue nothynge
abowte them meate for that purpose.
They maye towche no weapons: mo-
neye fownde abowte them shoulde be-
traye the robberye. They shoulde be
no soner taken wyth the maner, but
furthwyth they shoulde be punysshed.
Nother theye can haue annye hoope
at all to skape awaye by flyenge.
For howe shoulde a man, that in no
parte of hys apparrell is lyke other
men, flye preuelye and vnknowen,
oneles he wolde runne awaye naked?
Howe be yt so also flyinge he shoulde
be dyscryued by hys rounding and his
eare marke: But yt is a thynge to be
dowted, that they will lay their heddes
toge-

togither, and conspire agaynst the wea
le publyque. No no I warraunte you.
For the seruyng men of one shere alo-
ne could neuer hoope to bryng to pas-
se suche an enterpryse, wythowte solly-
cytyng, entysyng, and allurynge the
seruynge men of many other shyres
to take their partes. Whych thynge is
to them so impossyble, that they may
not asmuche as speake or talke toge-
thers, or salute one an other. No it is
not to be thought that they wold make
their owne countrey men and compa-
nyons of their cownsell in such a mat-
ter, whych they knowe well shoulde be
ieopardye to the concelour therof,
and greate commodytye and goodnes
to the openner of the same: where as on
the other parte, ther is none of them al
hoopeles or in dyspayre to recouer a-
gayne hys freedome, by humble obedi-
ence, by pacyent suffrynge, and by gea
nyng good tokens and lykelyhode of
hymself, that he wyll euer after that, li-
ue lyke a trewe and an honeste man.
For euery peare dyuers be restoryd a-
gayne to their freedome: throughe the
commen-

commendatyon of their patience. Whā I had thus spoken, sayinge moreouer that I coulde see no cause whie this ordre might not be had in England with much more profyte, then the Justyce which ỹ lawier so highly praised: Naye (quod the lawier) this could neuer be so stablished in England, but that it must needes bringe the weale publique into great ieopardie and hasarde. And as he was thus saying he shaked his heade, & made a wrie mouth, & so held his peace. And all that were ther present, with one assent agreid to his saying. Well (quod the Cardinall) yet it were hard to iudge without a proffe whether this ordre wold doo well here or no. But when ỹ sentence of deathe is geuen, if than the king should cōmaunde execution to be differred and spared, & wold proue this ordre and fashion: taking away the priuileges of all saintuaries: if thē ỹ proffe wold declare the thing to be good & profitable, thā it were well done that it were stablished: & the cōdempned & reprieued parsōs may aswell & as iustly be put to death after this proffe, as when

they were firſt cait. Mother any ieoper dye can in the meane ſpace growe here of. Yea & me thinketh that thies vagabōdes may very well be ordered after the ſame faſſion, againſt whome we haue hitherto made ſo many lawes, & ſo litle preuailed. Whē the Cardinal had thus ſaid, than euery man gaue greate praiſe to my ſayinges, which a litle before they had diſallowed. But moſt of all was eſteemed that which was ſpokē of vagabōndes, bicauſe it was the cardinalles owne addition. I can not tell whether it were beſt to reherſe the communicatiō ỹ followed, for it was not very ſad. But yet you ſhal here it: for ther was no euell in it, & partly it parteined to the matter before ſaid. Ther chaūſed to ſtond by a certein ieſting paraſite, or ſcoffer, which wold ſeme to reſemble & counterfeit ỹ foole. But he did in ſuch wiſe counterfept, that he was almoſt ỹ very ſame in deed that he labored to repreſēt: he ſo ſtudied with wordes & ſayinges brought furth ſo out of time & place to make ſporte and moue laughter, ỹ he himſelf was ofteuer laughed at thē

hys

his iestes were. Yet the foolish fellow brought out now and then such indifferent and reasonable stuffe, that he made the prouerbe trew, which sayeth he ẏ shoteth oft at ẏ last shal hit ẏ marke. So ẏ whē one of ẏ cōpany said ẏ thorough my communicatiō a good ordre was foūd for theues, & ẏ the Cardinall also had wel prouided for vagaboūdes, so ẏ only remained some good prouisiō to be made for thē ẏ through siknes & age were fallē into pouerty, & were become so impotente and vnweldye, that they were not able to woorke for their liuing: Tush (quod he) let me alon with them: you shall see me do well ynough with them. For I had rather then appe good that this kind of people were dreuen sum whether out of my sighte, they haue so sore troubled me many times & oft, whē they haue with their lamētablet eares begged money of me: and yet thei could neuer to mi mind so tune theire sōg, that therby they euer got of me me one farthynge. For euer more the one of thies two chaunced: eyther that I wolde not, or elles that I could not,

 bicause

bicause I had it not. Therefore nowe they be wared wyse: when they see me goo bye, bycause they wyll not leese theyr labour they lette me go and saye not one worde to me. So they looke for nothing of me, no in good sothe no more thē if I were a priest. But I will make a law, that all thies beggers shalbe distribute, and bestowed into houses of religion. The men shalbe made laye brethern, as they call thē, and the women nūnes. Here at the Cardenall smiled, & allowed it in iest, yea and all the residue in good earnest. But a certeyne freare graduate in diuinitie toke such pleasure and delite in this ieste of prieltes and mōkes, that he also, beinge elles a man of grisly and sterue grauitye, beganne merily and wantonly to ieste and taunt. Nay (quod he) you shal not so be ridde & dispatched of beggers, oneles you make some prouisiō also for vs frears. Whie (quod the iester) that is doon alredy: for mi lord him selfe set a very good order for yow, when he decreed ỹ vagabōdes should be kept strayt, and set to worke: for you be the greatest and

verie

veriest vagabondes that be. This iest also whē they saw the Cardinal not disproue it, euery man tooke it gladly, sauing only the Frear. For he (and that no marueil) whē he was thus towchyd one the quicke, & hit on the gawl so fret so fumed & chafid at it, and was in such a rage, ẏ he could not refrayn himselfe frō chiding skolding, railing & reuiling. He called the fellow ribbald, villayn, ianell, backbiter, sclaūderer, & the sōne of perditiō: citing therwith terrible threatening out of holy scriptur. Thē ẏ iesting skoffer begā to play ẏ scoffer indede, & verily he was good at ẏ, for he could play apart in ẏ play no mā better. Patiēt iourself good maister Freare (quod he) & be not angry, for scriptur saith: in your patiēce you shal saue your sowles. Then the Freare (for I wil rehearse his oune very woordes) No gallous, wretche, I aw not angry (quod he) or at the leaste wise, I do not synne: for the psalmiste saith-be you angry and sinne not. Thē the Cardinal spake gently to the Freare, and desiered him to quyete hymself. No my lord (quod he) I speake not but

of a good zeal as I ought: for holly mē had a good zeale. Wherfor it is said: ye zeale of thy house hath eatē me. And it is sōg in the church. The skorners of Helizeus, whiles he wēt vp into ye house of god felt the zeale of the bald, as peraduētur this skorning villain ribauld shal feel. You do it (quod ye cardinall) perchaūce of a good mind & affection: but me thinketh you should do, I cā not tel whether more holily, certes more wisely, if you wold not set your wit to a fooles witte, and with a foole take in hād a foolish contention. No forsoeth my lorde (quod he) I should not doo more wiselye. For Salomon the wise sayeth: Answer a foole according to his folishnes, like as I do now, & do shew him ye pit ye he shall fall into, if he take not hede. For if many skorners of Helizeus, which was but one bald mā, felt ye zeal of the balde, howe much more shall one skorner of many frears feele, amonge whom be many bald mē? And we haue also the popes bulles, wherby all that mock & skorne vs be excōmunicate, suspēded and acursed, The cardinal seing

that

that none end wold be made sent away the iester by a preup beck, & turned the cõmunicatiõ to an other matter. Short ly after whẽ he was risen from the table, he went to heare his sueters, and so dimissed vs. Loke mayster More with how long & tedious a tale I haue kept you, which suerly I wolde haue bene ashamed to haue done, but that you so earnestly desiered me, & did after suche a sort geue eare vnto hit, as though you wolde not that any parcell of that communication should be left out. Which though I haue doone sumwhat briefely, yet coulde I not chuse but rehearse it, for the iudgement of thẽ, which whẽ they had improued and disallowed my sayinges, yet incontinent hearinge the Cardinall allowe them, dyd themselfes also approue ỹ same: so imputẽt ly flattering him, ỹ they were nothinge ashamed to admit, yea almost in good earnest, his iesters folish inuentions: bi cause that he him selfe by smytynge at them did seme not to disprowe thẽ. So that hereby you may right well perceaue how litle ỹ courtiers wold regard & esteme

eſteme me & my ſayinges. I enſure you maiſter Raphael (quod I) I toke great delectation in hearing you: all thinges that you ſayde were ſpoken ſo wittily and ſo pleaſantly. And me thought my ſelf to be in the meane time not only at home in my cõtrey, but alſo throughe the pleaſaunt remẽbraunce of the Cardinall in whoſe houſſe I was brought vp of a child, to ware a childe agayne. And frẽd Raphaell, though I did beare verye greate loue to wardes you before, yet ſeynge you do ſo earneſtly fauour thys man, you wyll not beleue howe muche my loue towardes you is nowe increaſed. But yet, all this notwithſtanding, I can by no meanes chaunge my mind, but that I muſt needys beleue yͤ you, if you be diſpoſed, and can finde in youre harte to followe ſome princes courte, ſhall with your good cownſeles greatly healpe & further the commẽ wealthe. Wherefore there is nothynge more appertaynynge to your dewty, yͤ is to ſay to yͤ dewty of a good mã. For where as youre Plato Judgethe that weale publyques ſhall by this meanes

attayne

attayne perfecte felicitie, other if phy-
losophers be kynges, or els if kynges
giue them selfes to the study of Philo-
sophie, how farre I praye powe, shall
commen wealthes then be from thys
felicitie, if phylosophers wyll vouche-
saufe to instructe kynges w̄ their good
counsell? They be not so vnkind (quod
he) but they would gladlye do it, yea
manye haue done it all readie in boo-
kes that they haue putfurth, if kyn-
ges and princes would be wyllyng &
readie to folowe good counsell. But
Plato doubteles dyd well forsee, one-
les kynges themselfes would applye
their myndes to the studye of philoso-
phie, that elles they would neuer tho-
roughlye allowe the counsell of philo-
sophers, beyng themselfes before euen
from their tẽder age infectyd, and cor-
rupt with peruerse, and euyll opiniõs.
Whiche thynge Plato hymselfe pro-
uyd trewe in kynge Dionise. If I
should propose to any kynge holsome
decrees, doinge my endeuour to pluck
out of hys mynde the pernitious ori-
ginall causes of vice and noughtenes,

thynke you not that I shoulde further with other be dryuen awaye, or elles made a laughynge stocke. Goo to suppose that I were with the ffrenche kynge, and there sittynge in hys counsell whyles that in that moste secrete consultation, the kyng hym self there beynge present in hys owne persone they beat their braynes, and serche the verye bottomes of theyr wyttes to discusse by what crafte and meanes the kyng maye stylle kepe Myllayne, and drawe to hym agayne Lugatyne Maples. And then howe to conquere the Venetians, and howe to bryng vnder his Jurisdiction all Italye, then howe to wynne the dominion of ffla-ñ ders, Brabant, and of all Burgundie: with dyuers other landes, whole kyng domes he hath longe a goo in mynde and purpose inuaded. Here whyles one counselleth to conclude a leage of peace with the Venetians, whiche shal so lõge endure, as shalbe thought mete and expedient for theire purpose, and to make them also of their cõsell, yea and besydes that to gyue them parte

parte of the praye, whyche afterwarde, when they haue brought theyr purpose aboute after theyr owne myndes they maye requyre and clayme agayne. An other thynketh beste to hyere the Germanes. An other wolde haue the fauoure of the Swychers wonne with money. An others aduyse is to appease the puyssaunte powre of the emperours maiestie with golde, as with a moste pleasaunt, and acceptable sacrifice. Whyles an other gyueth counsell to make peace wyth the kynge of Arragone, and to restore vnto hym hys owne kyngdome of Nauarra as a full assuraunce of peace. An other cummeth in wyth hys. v. egges, and aduyseth to howlde in the kynge of Castell with somme hope of affynytie or allyaunce, and to bryngе to theyr parte certeyne peers of hys courte for greate pensions. Whyles they all stape at the chyefeste dowte of all, what to doo, in the meane tyme with England: and yet agree al in this to make peace wyth the englishmē, & with

moste

moſte ſuere and ſtrong bondes to bind that weake and feable frendlhyppe, ſo that they muſt be called frendes, and hadde in ſuſpicion as enemies: And that therfore the ſhottes muſt be hadde in a reddines, as it were in a ſtanding, reddie at all occaſions, in auuters the Englyſhe men ſhould ſturre neuer ſo litle, incontinēt to ſet vpon them. And moreouer preuilie and ſecretly, for openly it maye not be doone by the truce that is taken, prpuelye therfore I ſaye to make muche of ſome peere of Englande, that is bampſhed his countrey, whiche muſt clepme title to the crown of the realme, and affirme hym ſelfe iuſte inheritoure therof, that by thys ſubtyll meanes they maye holde to them the kynge, in whom elles they haue but ſmall truſte and affiaunce. Here I ſaye, where ſo greate and high matters be in conſultation, where ſo manye noble and wyſe men counſell their kyng onlye to warre, here if I ſelfe man ſhould ryſe vp and wylle them to turne ouer the leafe, and learne a newe leſſon, ſayng that my counſell is

not

not to medle with Italy, but to tarrye styll at home, and that the kyngdome of fraunce alone is all moste greater, then that it maye well be gouerned of one man: so that the kyng shoulde not nede to studye howe to gett more: And then shoulde propose vnto them the decrees of the people that be called the Achorians, whiche be situate ouer agaynst the Ilande of Vtopia on the sowthealte syde. Thies Achorians ones made warre in their kinges quarrel for to gette him an other kyngdom, whiche he layde clayme vnto, & auaunced hymself righte inheritoure to the crowne therof, by the title of an olde alliaunce. At the last whē they had gotten it, and sawe that they hadde euen as muche vexation and trouble in keping it, as they had in gettyng it, and that other there newe conquered subiectes by sondrye occasions were makynge dayly insurrections to rebell agaynste them, or els that other countreys were contynually with diuers inrodes and forraginges inuadinge them: so that they were euer fyghtinge other for thē,

or

or agaynste them, and neuer coulde breke vp their campes: Seynge them selfes in the meane season pylled and impouerysshed: their money caryed owt of the Realme; theyr owne men kylled to mayntayne the glory of an other nation: whē they had no warre, peace nothynge better then warre, by reason that their people in warre had inured themselfes to corrupte and wycked maners: that they hadde taken a delycte & pleasure in robbynge and stealyng that through manslaughter they had gathered boldenes to mischiefe: that their lawes were hadde in contempte, and nothynge set by or regarded; that their kynge beynge troubled with the charge and gouernaūce of two kingdomes, coulde not nor was not able perfectly to discharge his office towardes them bothe: seynge agayne that all thies euelles and troubles were endeles: at the last laid there heades together, and lyke faithful and louinge subiectes gaue to their kynge free choyse and libertie to kepe still the one of this .ij. kingdomes, whether he would

would: allegyng that he was not able to kepe both, & that they were mo then might wel be gouerned of half a king: for asmuche as no man would be content to take hym for his mulettour ẏ kepeth an other mans moyles besides his. So this good prince was constreyned to be content with his olde kyngdome, & to gyue ouer the newe to one of his frendes. Whiche shortelie after was violētlie dreuē out. Furthermore if I should declare vnto them, that all this busy preparaunce to warre, wherby so many nations for hys sake shuld be brought into a troublesom hurley-burley when all hys coffers were emptied, his treasures wasted and his people destroyed, should at the length through som mischaūce be in vaine & to none effect: & that therfore it were best for him to cōtent him selfe w̄ his owne kingdom of fraūce, as his forfathers & predecessours did before him: to make much of it, to enriche it, & to make it as flourisshing as he could, to endeuoure hiself to loue his subiects, & again to be beloued of thē, willingly to liue w̄ thē

pea-

peaceably to gouerne them, and with other kyngdomes not to medle, ſeinge that whiche he hath all redy is euen enough for hym, yea and more then he can well turne hym to: thys myne aduyſe maiſter More how thynke you it would be harde and taken? So God helpe me not very thankefully (quod I). Well let vs proceede then (quod he). Suppoſe that ſome kyng and his counſell were together whettinge their wittes and deuiſinge what ſubtell crafte they myght inuēte to enryche the king with greate treaſures of money. ffirſt one counſelleth to rayſe and enhaunce the valuacion of money when the king muſt paye any: and agayne to calle downe the value of coyne, to leſſe thē it is worthe, when he muſte receiue or gather any. ffor thus great ſommes ſhalbe payde with a lyttell money, and where lytle is due muche ſhalbe receiued. An other counſelleth to fayne warre, that when vnder this coloure & pretence the kyng hath gathered great aboundaunce of money, he maye whē it ſhall pleaſe hym make peace wyth great

great solempnitie and holye ceremonies to blynde the eyes of the poore communaltie, as taking pitie and compassion God wote vpon mans bloude lyke a louing and a mercifull prince. An other putteth the kyng in remembraunce of certeyn olde and moughteeaten lawes, that of long tyme haue not bene put in execution, whiche because no man can remembre that they were made, euerie man hath transgressed. The fynes of thies lawes he counselleth the kynge to require: for there is no waye so profytable, nor more honorable, as the whiche hath a shewe and coloure of iustice. An other aduyseth hym to forbidde manye thynges vnder great penalties and fines, specially suche thynges as is for the peoples profit not be vsed, and afterward to dispence for money with the, which by this prohibicion sustayne losse and dammage. ffor by this meanes the fauour of the people is wonne, and profite riseth two wayes. ffirst by takyng forfaytes of them whom couetousnes of gaynes hath brought in daunger of

thys statute, and also by sellynge pre-
uyleges and licences, whiche the bet-
ter that the prynce is forsothe, the dee-
rer he selleth them: as one that is lothe
to graunte to any prywate persone any
thyng that is agaynste the profyt of
hys people. And therfore maye sell
none but at an exceding dere prce. An
other giueth the kynge counsell to en-
daunger vnto hys grace the iudges of
the Realme, that he maye haue them
euer on hys syde, whyche muste in
euerye matter despute and reason for
the kynges rygth. And they muste be
called into the kynges palace, & be de-
sired to argue & discusse his matters in
his owne presence. So there shalbe no
matter of his so openlye wronge and
vniuste, wherin one or other of them,
other because he wyll haue sumthyng
to allege & obiecte, or ꝑ he is ashamed
to saye that whiche is sayde already,
or els to pike a thanke with his prince,
wyll not fynde som hole open to set a
snare in, wherewith to take the contra-
rie parte in a trippe. Thus whiles the
iudges cannot agree amonges them-
selues,

selfes, reasoning & arguing of ỹ which is playne enough, & bringing the manifest trewthe in dowte: in the meane season ỹ kyng may take a fyt occasion to vnderstād the lawe as shal mott make for his aduaūtage, wher vnto al other for shame or for feare wil agree. Then the Judges maye be bolde to pronoūce of the kynges side. ffor he that geueth sentēce for the kyng cānot be without a good excuse. ffor it shalbe sufficient for hym to haue equitie of his part, or the bare wordes of the lawe, or a wrythen and wrested vnderstandynge of the same, or els whiche with good and iust Judges is of greater force then all lawes be, the kynges indisputable prerogatiue. To conclude, al the counsellours agree and consent together with the riche Crassus, that no abundāce of gold can be sufficiēt for a prince, which muste kepe and mayntayne an armie: furthermore that a kynge, thoughe he would, can do nothynge vniustly. ffor all that all men haue, yea also the men thē selfes be all his. And that euery mā hath so much of his owne as ỹ kynges

gentilnes hath not taken from hym.
And that it ſhalbe moſte for ỹ kynges aduauntage that his ſubiectes haue be ry lytle or nothing in their poſſeſſion, as whoſe ſauegarde dothe herein conſiſte, that his people do not waxe wanton and wealthie through riches and libertie, becauſe where thies thinges be, there men be not wonte patientlye to obeye harde vniuſte and vnlawfull commaundementes. Where as on the other part neade & pouertie doth holde downe and kepe vnder ſtowte courages, and maketh them patiēt perforce, takyng from them bolde and rebelyuge ſtomakes. Here agayne if I ſhould ryſe vp, and boldelye affirme that all thies counſelles be to the kyng dilhonoure and reproche, whoes honoure and fauitie is more and rather ſupported and vpholden by the wealth and ryches of his people, then by hys owne treaſures, and if I ſhuld declare that the cōminaltie chuſeth their king for their owne ſake & not for his ſake: for this intent that through his labour and ſtudie they might al liue wealthily

lauffe from wronges and iniuries: and that therfore the kynge ought to take more care for the wealthe of his people, then for his owne wealthe, euen as the office and dewtie of a shephearde is, in that he is a shepherd, to feade his sheye rather then hymselfe. ffor as towchynge this, that they thinke the defence and maintenaunce of peace to consiste in the pouertie of the people, the thyng it self sheweth that they be farre owt of the way. ffor where shall a mã finde more wrãgling quarelling brawling and chiding, then amõg beggers? Who be more desierous of newe mutations and alterations, then they that be not content with the present state of their lyfe? Or finally who be bolder stomaked to brynge all in hurlieburlie (therby trustyng to get sum wyndfall) then they that haue nowe nothing to leese? And if so be that there were any kyng, that were so smallye regarded, or so behated of his subiectes, that other wayes he coulde not kepe thẽ in awe, but onlie by opẽ wronges, by pollinge and shauinge, and by brynginge

them to beggerie, ſewerly it were better for hym to forſake hys kyngdome, then to holde it by this meanes: whereby though the name of a kyng be kept, yet the maieſtie is loſt. ffor it is againſt the dignitie of a kynge to haue rule ouer beggers, but rather ouer ryche and welthie men. Of thys mynde was the hardie & couragius ffabrice, when he ſayde that he had rather be a ruler of ryche men then be ryche hymſelfe. And herelye one man to lyue in pleaſure and wealth, whyles all other wepe and ſmarte for it, that is the parte not of a kynge but of a iayler. To be ſhorte as he is a folyſhe phiſition that cannot cure his patientes diſeaſe onles he caſte hym in an other ſyckenes, ſo he that cannot amēd the liues of his ſubiectes, but be taking from them the wealth and cōmoditie of lyfe, he muſt nedes graunte that he knoweth not the feate how to gouerne fre men. But let hym rather amende hys owne lyfe, renounce vnhoneſt pleaſures, and forſake pride. ffor thies be the chiefe vices that cauſe hym to runne in the con-

tempt

tempt or hatered of his people. Let him lyue of hys owne, hurtinge no man. Let him do coste not aboue his power. Let hym restrayne wyckednes. Let hym preuente vices, and take a waye the occasions of offences be well orderyng hys subiectes, and not by sufferyng wickednes to increase afterward to be punyshed. Let hym not be to hastie in callynge agayne lawes, whiche a custome hathe abrogated: speciallye suche as haue bene long forgotten and neuer lacked nor neaded. And let hym neuer vnder the cloke and pretence of transgression take suche fynes and forfaytes, as no Judge wyll suffre a priuate persone to take, as vniuste & ful of gile. Here if I should bryng furth before them the lawe of the Macariens, whiche be not farre distaũt from Vtopia: whose kynge the daye of hys coronacion is bounde by a solempne othe, that he shall neuer at anye tyme haue in hys treasure aboue a thousande pounde of golde or syluer. They saye a verye good kynge, whiche toke more care for the wealthe & cõmoditie

of hys countrey, then for the enrychinge of himſelf, made this lawe to be a ſtop and a barre to kynges for heaping and hordinge vp ſo muche money as might impouerych the their people. ffor he for-ſawe that this ſom of treaſure woulde ſuffice to ſupporte the kynge in battail againſt his owne people, if they ſhuld chaunce to rebell: and alſo to maintein his warres againſt the inuaſions of hys forrein enemies. Againe he perceiued the ſame ſtocke of money to be to litle and vnſufficient to encourage and able hym wrongfully to take a waye other mens goodes, whyche was the chiefe cauſe whie the lawe was made. An other cauſe was this. He thought that by thys prouiſiō his people ſhuld not lacke money, wherewith to mayn-teyne their dayly occupieng and chaf-fare. And ſeynge the kynge coulde not chewſe but laye owt & beſtowe all that came in aboue the preſcript ſome of his ſtocke, he thought he woulde ſeke no occaſions to doo hys ſubiectes iniurie. Suche a kynge ſhalbe feared of euell men, and loued of good men.

Thies

Thies and ſuche other informatyons yf I ſhoulde vſe emonge men holy enclined and geuen to the contrarye part, how deaffe hearers thyncke you ſhould I haue? Deaffe hearers douteles (quod I) And in good faith no marueyle. And to ſpeake as I thynke, truelye I can not a lowe that ſuch communicatyon ſhall be vſed, or ſuche cownſell geuen, as you be ſuere ſhall neuer be regarded nor receaued. ffor how can ſo ſtraunge informations be profitable, or how can they be beatē into their headdes, whoſe myndes be all reddye preuented with cleane contrarye perſuaſyons? Thys ſchole philoſophie is not vnpleaſaunte emonge frendes in famylier communication, but in the counſelles of kynges, where greate matters be debated and reaſoned wyth great authoryte, thies thynges haue no place. That is yt whyche I mente (quod he) when I ſaid phyloſophye hadde no place amonge kinges. In dede (quod I) this ſchole philoſophie hath not: whiche thinketh all thinges mete for euery place. But ther is an other philoſophye more cyuyle,

whyche knoweth as ye wolde ſaye her owne ſtage, and thereafter ordeynge and behaupnge herſelfe in the playe that ſhe hathe in hande, playethe her parte accordyngelye wyth comlynes, vtterynge nothynge owte of dewe ordre and faſhyon. And thys ys the philoſophye that powe muſte vſe. Dreis whyles a commodye of Plautus is playinge, and the vyle bondemen ſkoffynge and tryfflynge amonge themſelfes, yf powe ſhoulde ſodenlye come vpon the ſtage in a philoſophers apparrell, and reherſe owte of Octauia the place wherin Seneca diſputeth with Nero: had it not bene better for powe to haue played the domme perſone, then by reherſynge that, which ſerued nother for the tyme nor place to haue made ſuche a tragycall comedye or gallym alfreye? For by brynge in other ſtuffe that nothynge appertaynethto the preſente matter, powe muſt nedys marre and peruert the playe that ys in hande, thoughe the ſtuffe that powe bringe be muche better. What parte ſoeuer powe haue taken

vpon

vpon powe playe that aſwell as powe
canne and make the beſte of pt : And
doo not therefore dyſturbe and bꝛpuge
owte of oꝛdꝛe the hole matter, bycauſe
that an othere whyche is merpere
and bettere cummethe to powre re-
membꝛaunce. So the caſe ſtan-
dethe in a common wealthe, and ſo
pt ys in the conſultatpons of kynges
and pꝛpnces. Pt euell oppnpons and
noughtp perſuaſions can not bedtterly
and qupte pluckede owte of their har-
tes, if pou can not euen as pou wold re
medye vyces, whiche vſe and cuſtome
hath confirmed: pet foꝛ this cauſe pow
muſt not leaue and foꝛſake the commō
wealth: pow muſt not foꝛſake ẏ ſhippe
in a tempeſte, bycauſe powe can not
rule and kepe downe the wpndes. So
noꝛ pow muſte not laboure to dꝛpue in-
to their heades newe and ſtraunge in
foꝛmatpons, whyche pow knowe well
ſhalbe nothynge regarded wpth them
that be of cleane cōtrarp mindes. But
pou muſt with a craftp wile & a ſubtell
trapne ſtudye and endeuoure pour ſelfe
aſmuch as in pow lpethe to handle the
matter

matter wyttelye and handsomelye for the purpose and that whyche powe can not turne to good, so to ordre it that it be not very badde. ffor it is not possible for all thynges to be well, onles all men were good. Which I thynke wil not be yet thys good many yeares. By thys meanes (quod he) nothynge elles wyll be broughte to passe, but whyles that I goo aboute to remedy the madnes of others, I should be euē as madde as they. ffor if I wolde speake thynges that be trewe, I muste neades speake suche thinges: but as for to speake false thinges, whether that be a philosophers part or no I can not tell, truely it is not my part. Howebeit thys communication of myne, thoughe peraduenture it maye seme vnpleasaunte to them, yett can I not see whie it should seme straūge, or foolisshelye newfangled. If so be that I shoulde speake those thynges that Plato fayneth in hys weale publique: or that the vtopians do in theires, thies thinges thoughe they were (as they be in dede) better, yet they myghte seme spoken owt of place. ffor a smuch

as

as here amonges vs, euerye man hath hys possessyons seuerall to hymselfe, & there all thinges be common. But what was in my communication contepned, that mighte not, and oughte not in anye place to be spoken? Saynge that to them whyche haue throughlye decreed and determined with them selfes to rome hedlonges the contrary waye it can not be acceptable and plesaunt, bicause it calleth them backe, and sheweth thē the ieopardies. Verilye of all thynges that euell & vitiouse maners haue caused to seme inconueniente and noughte should be refused, as thinges vnmete & reprochefull, thē we muste emong Christen people wynche at the moste parte of all those thynges whyche Christe taughte vs, and so streytlye forbadde them to be wynched at, that those thinges also whyche he whispered in the eares of hys dysciples he commaunded to be proclaymed in open howses. And yet the moste parte of thē is moore dissident frō the maners of the worlde nowe a dayes then my communicatyon was. But preachers slye & wilie mē fol-

followynge your counsell (as I suppose) bicause they saw men euel willing to frame theyr manners to Christes rule, they haue wrested and wricke hys doctryne, and lyke a rule of leade haue applyed yt to mennys maners : that by some meanes at the leaste waye, they myghte agree to gether. Wherby I can not see what good they haue doone: but that men may more sickerlye be euell. And I truelye shouide preuaile euen asmuche in kinges counselles. ffor other I muste saye other wayes then they saye, and then I were as good to saye nothynge, or els I muste saye the same that they saye, and (as Mitio saieth in Terence) helpe to further their madnes. ffor that craftye wyle and subtill traine of yours, I can not perceaue to what purpose it serueth, wherewyth yow wolde haue me to studdy & endeuoure my selfe, yf all thynges can not be made good, yet to handle them wittily and handsomelye for the purpose, yf as farre furth as is possible they maye not be very euell. ffor there is no place to dissemble in, nor to wincke in. Naughtye

tye cownselles muste be openlye allowed, and verye pestylent decrees muste be approued. He shalbe cowntede worse then a spye, yea almoste as euell as a traytoure, that wyth a faynte harte dothe prayse euell and noyesome decrees. Moreouer a man canne haue no occasyon too doo good chauncynge into the companye of them, whyche wyll sonere make noughte a good man, they be made good themselfes: throughe whose euell companye he shalbe marred, or els yf he remayne good and innocent, yett the wyckednes and folysshenes of others shalbe imputed to hym, and layde in hys necke. So that yt is impossyble wyth that craftye wyele, and subtell trayne to turne anny thing to better. Wherfore Plato by a goodly simplitude declareth, whie wise men refreyn to medle in the common wealth. For when they see the people swarm into the stretes and dailie wett to the skin wyth rayne, and yett can not persuade them to goo owt of the rayne, and to take their houses; knowynge well that if

they

they shoulde goo owte to them, they shoulde nothynge preuayle, nor wynne ought by it, but be mett also in the rain, they do kepe them selfes within their howses, beynge contente that they be sake them selfes, seynge they can not remedye the folye of the people. Howe be it doubteles mayster Moore (to speke truelye as my mynde geueth me) where soeuer possessyons be pryuate, where money beareth all the stroke, it is hard and almoste impossyble that there the weale publyque maye iustelye be gouerned and prosperouslye florysshe: Vnles you thynke thus: that Justyce is there executed wher all thynges come into the handes of euell men, or that prosperytye their florysshyth where all is deuyded amonge a fewe: whych fewe we neuertheless do not leade their lyues verye wealthely, and the residewe lyue myserablye wretchedlye and beggerlye. Wherefore when I consyder wyth my selfe and wey in my mynde the wyse and godlye ordynaunces of the Vtopyans, amonge whome wyth verye fewe lawes all thynges be so well

well and wealthelye ordered, that vertue is had in price and estimation, and yet all thynges beynge their common, euerye man hath abundaunce of euery thynge. Agaynst on the other part, when I compare wyth them so manye nations euer makyng new lawes, yet none of them all well and sufficyentlye furnyshed wyth lawes: where euery man calleth that he hath gotten hys owne proper and priuate goodes, where so many newe lawes daylye made be not sufficyente for euerye man to enioye defend and knowe from an other mans that whych he calleth his owne: which thyng the infinyte controuersies in the lawe, that daylye ryse neuer to be ended, plainly declare to be trewe: Thies thynges (I say) when I consider with me selfe, I holde well with Plato, and doe no thynge maruell that he wolde make no lawes for them that refused those lawes, wherby all men shoulde haue and enioye equall portions of wel thes and commodities. For the wise man dyd easely forsee, that thys is the one and onlye waye to the wealthe of

a communaltye, yf equalytye of all thynges ſholde be broughte in and ſtablyſhed. Whyche I thynke is not poſſible to be obſerued where euerye mans gooddes be proper & peculyare to hym ſelfe. ffor where euerye man vnder certeyne tytles and pretences draweth & plucketh to hymſelfe aſmuch as he can, and ſo a fewe deuide amonge thẽſelfes all the riches that there is, be there neuer ſo muche abundaunce and ſtoore, there to the reſydewe is lefte lacke and pouertye. And for the moſte parte yt chaunceth that thys latter ſort is more worthye to enioye that ſtate of wealth, then the other be: bycauſe the ryche men be couetous craftye and vnprofytable. On the other parte the poore be lowlye ſymple, and by their daily labour more profytable to the common welthe then to them ſelfes. Thus I doo fullye perſuade me ſelfe, that no equall and iuſte diſtrybutyon of thynges can be made, nor that perfecte wealthe ſhall euer be amõg mẽ, onles this proprietye be exiled & bãniſhed. But ſo long as it ſhal cõtynew, ſo lõg ſhal remayn among ỹ moſt

and

and beſt part of mē, the heup, & ineuitable burden of pouertp & wretchednes. Which as J graūt ẏ it map be ſumwhat eaſed, ſo J vtterlp denp ẏ it can holp be takē awap. ffor if ther wer a ſtatute made ẏ no mā ſhould poſſeſſe aboue a certein meaſure of ground, & that no man ſhould haue in his ſtocke aboue a preſcripte and appointed ſome of monep: if it were bp certein lawes decreed that nother the king ſhould be of to greate powre, nother the people to prouud and wealthye: and that offices ſhold not be obteined bp inordinate ſupte or bp bzpbes and giftes: that thep ſhould nother be bought nor ſold, nor that it ſholde be nedeful for the officers to be at anp coſt or charge in their offices: for ſo occaſion is geuē to the officers bp fraud and rauin to gather vp their monep again, and bp reaſō of giftes & bzibes ẏ offices be geuē to rich men, which ſhoulde rather haue bene executed of wiſe men: bp ſuch lawes J ſap, like as ſicke bodies ẏ be deſperat & paſt cure be wōte wt cōtinual good cheriſſing to be kept vp: ſo thies euelles alſo might be lightened

and myspygated. But that they may be perfectlye cured and brought to a good and vprpght state, it is not to be hoped for, whiles euery man is maister of his owne to hym selfe. Yea and whyles pow goo abowt to do pour cure of one part, pow shall make bygger the sore of an other parte, so the healpe of one causeth an others harme. ffor as much as nothynge can be geuen to anype man, onles yt be taken from an other. But I am of a contrary opinion (quod I) for me thynketh that men shal neuer there lyue wealthelpe, where all thynges be commen. ffor how can there be abundaũce of gooddes, or of any thing where euery mã with draweth his hãde frõ labour? Whome the regarde of his owne gaines driueth not to woorke? and the hoope that he hath in other mẽs trauayles maketh hym slowthfull. Then when they be prycked wyth pouertye, and yet no mã can by any law or right defẽd that for his owne, which he hath gotten: wyth the laboure of his owne handes, shall not ther of necessitie be cõtinuall sedition & bloodshede? specially

the

the aucthoritie and reuerende of magistrates being takē away, which what palce it maye haue wyth suche men, amonge whome is no difference, I can not deuise. I maruell not (quod he) that you be of this opinion. For you cōceaue in your mynde other none at all, or els a very false ymage and symplitude of thys thynge. But yf yow hadde bene wyth me in Utopia, and hadde presently sene their fasshions and lawes, as I dyd, whiche liued ther .v. yeares and moore, and wolde neuer haue commen thence, but only to make that new lande knowen here: Then dowteles you wold graunt, that you neuer sawe people well ordered, but only there. Surely (quod maister Peter) it shalbe harde for you to make me beleue, that ther is better order in that newe lande, then is here in thies countreys that wee knowe. For good wyttes be aswell here as there: and I thynke owr commen wealthes be auncienter than theires: wherin longe vse and experience hath fownde owt many thinges cōmodious for mannes life, besides that many thinges here

amonge vs haue bene founde by chaū-
ce whych no wytte colde euer haue de-
uyſed. As towchynge the auncyetnes
(quod he) of common wealthes, than
you might better iudge, if you had red
the hiſtories and chronicles of ỹ lande,
which if wee may beleue, cities were
there, before there were men here. Now
what thinge ſoeuer hitherto by witte
hath bene deuiſed, or foūd by chaūce: ỹ
myghte be aſwell there as here. But I
thinke verily, though it were ſo that we
did paſſe them in witte: yet in ſtudye &
labourſome endeuoure they farre paſſe
vs. ffor (as there Cronicles teſtifie) be-
fore our arriual! ther they neuer harde
any thinge of vs, whome they call the
vltraequinoctialles: ſauinge that oues
about. M. C. yeares ago, a certein
shyppe was loſte by the Ile of Vtopia
whiche was driuen thither by tempeſt.
Certeyn Romayns and Egyptyans
were caſte on lande. Whyche after
that neuer wente thence. Marke nowe
what profite they tooke of thys one oc-
caſion through delygence and earneſte
trauaile. There was no craft nor ſcy-
ence

ence within the impery of Rome, wher of any profite could rise, but they other lerned it of thies straungers, or els of them taking occasion to searche for yt, fownde it owte. So great profyte was it to them that euer anye wente thyther from hence. But yf anye lyke chaunce before thys hath brought any man from thence hether, that is as quyte out of remembraunce, as this also perchaunce in time to come shalbe forgotten that euer I was there. And like as they quickelye, almoste at the first meting, made their owne, what so euer is among vs wealthely deuysed: so I suppose it wold belonge before we wolde receaue any thing that amonge them is better instituted then amonge vs. And thys I suppose is the chiefe cause whie theyr common wealthes be wyselyere gouerned and do florysh in more wealth then ours, though wee nother in wytte nor in ryches be ther inferiours. Therfore gētle maister Raphaell (quod I) I praye you and beseche yow describe vnto vs the Iland. And study not to be shorte: but declare

largely in order their groundes, there ryuers, their cities, theire people, theire manners, their ordenaūces, ther lawes and to be short al thinges that you shal thinke vs desierous to knowe. And you shal thinke vs desierous to know what soeuer we knowe not yet. There is nothing (quod he (that I will do gladlier. For all these thinges I haue freshe in mind. But ẏ matter requireth leasure. Let vs go in therfor (quod I) to dinner: afterward we will bestowe the time at our pleasure. Content (quod he) be it. So we went in and dyned. Whē diner was done we came into ẏ same place again, & sate vs downe vpon the same benche, commaunding oure seruauntes that no man should trouble vs. Then I and maister Peter Giles desiered maister Raphaell to performe his promise. He therfore seinge vs desierous & willinge to harken to him, when he had sit still and pansed a litle while, musing and bethinkynge hym selfe, thus he began to speake.

The ende of the fyrste boke.

The

The second

Boke of the communication

of Raphael Hythlodaye, concernyng the best state of a common wealthe: conteynyng the discription of Utopia, with a large declaration of the Godly gouernement, and of all the good lawes and orders of the same Ilande.

THe Ilande of Utopia, contepneth in breadthe in the myddell part of it (for there it is brodest) CC. miles. Whiche bredthe continueth through the moste parte of the lande. Saupng that by lytle and lytle it commeth in, and waxeth narrower towardes both the endes. Whiche fetchynge about a circuite or compasse of. D c. myles, do fashion the hole Ilande lyke to the newe mone. Betwene thys two corners the sea runneth in, diuydyng them a son-

der by the distaũce of .xi. miles or there aboutes, and there surmounteth into a large & wyde sea, which by reason that the lande of euery syde compasseth it about, and shiltreth it frõ the windes, is not rough, nor mountith not with great waues, but almost floweth quic lye not muche vnlike a great standing powle: and maketh almoste al the space within the bellye of the lande in maner of a hauen: and to the great commoditie of the Inhabitauntes receaueth in shyppes towardes euery parte of the lande. The forefrontes or frontiers of the .ii. corners, what wythefordys & shelues, & what with rockes be very ieoperdous & daungerous. In the middel distaunce betwene thẽ both stãdeth vp aboue the water a great rocke, which therfore is nothing perillous bi cause it is in sight. Vpõ the top of this rocke is afaire & a strõg towre builded, which thei holde with a garison of mẽ. Other rockes ther be, that lye hidde vnder the water, and therefore be daungerous. The channelles be knowen onely to thẽselfes. And therfore it seldome

chaun-

chaunceth that any straunger vnles he be guided by a Vtopian can come in to this hauen. In so muche that they thēselfes could skaselie entre without ieoperdie, but that their way is directed & ruled by certaine laude markes stāding on the shore. By turning translatynge & remouinge this markes into other places they maye destrope their enemies nauies be thei neuer so many. The out side of the lande is also full of hauens, but the landing is so suerly defenced, what by nature and what by workmanshyp of mans hande, that a fewe defenders maye dryue backe many armies. Howebeit as they saye, and as the fassion of the place it selfe doth partely shewe, it was not euer compassed about with the sea. But kyng Vtopus whose name as cōquerour ỹ Iland beereth. (ffor before that tyme it was called Abraxa) which also brought the rude & wild people to that excellēt perfection, in al good fassions, humanitie, & ciuile gētilnes, wherin they now go beyond al ỹ people of the world: euē at his first arriuinge and entering e vpon

the

the lande, furth with obteynynge the victory, cauſed .xb. myles ſpace of bp-landyſhe grounde, where the ſea had no paſſage, to be cut and dygged bp. And ſo brought the ſea rounde aboute the lande. He ſet to thys worke not only the inhabitauntes of the Jlande (becauſe they ſhould not thynke it done in contumelye and deſpyte) but alſo all hys owne ſoldiours. Thus the worke beyng diuyded into ſo great a numbre of workemen was with exceding maruelous ſpede dyſpatched. Jn ſo muche that the borderers, whiche at the fyrſt began to mocke and to gieſte at thys vayne enterpryſe, then turned theyr laughter to marueyle at the ſucceſſe, & to feare. There be in the Jlande. liiij. large and faire cities or ſhiere townes, agreeyng all together in one tonge, in lyke maners, inſtitucions, and lawes. They be all ſet and ſituate a lyke, and in all poyntes faſhioned a lyke, as farfurth as the place or plotte ſuffereth. Of thies cyties they that be nigheſt together be. xxiiij. myles a ſonder. Again there is none of them diſtaunt from the

next

next aboue one dayes iorneye a sote.
There cum yearly to Amaurote out of
euery cytie, iij. olde men wyse and well
experienced, there to entreate and de-
bate, of the cõmon matters of the lãde.
ffor thys cytie (because it standeth iust
in the myddes of the Ilande, and is
therfore moste mete for the embassa-
dours of all partes of the realme) is ta
ken for the chiefe and head cytie. The
precinctes and boundes of the shieres
be so commodiously appoynted out, &
set furth for the cyties, that neuer a one
of them all hath of anye syde lesse then
xx. myles of grounde, and of som syde
also muche more, as of that part where
the cyties be of farther distaunce a sun-
der. None of the cities desire to enlar-
ge the boundes & lymites of their shie-
res. ffor they count them selfes rather
the good husbandes, then the owners
of their landes. They haue in the coun
trey in all partes of the shiere howses
or fermes buylded, wel appointed and
furnyshed with all sortes of instrumẽ-
tes and tooles belongyng to husban-
drie. Thies houses be inhabited of the
cite-

cytezens, whiche cum thyther to dwel by course. No howsholde or ferme in the countrey hath fewer then.xl. persones men and women, besydes two bonden men, whiche be all vnder the rule and order of the good man, and the good wyfe of the house, beynge bothe very sage and discrete persones. And euery.xxx. fermes or famelies haue one heade ruler, whiche is called a Phylarche, being as it were a hed baylyffe. Out of euery one of thies famelies or fermes cummeth euery peare into the cytie.xx. persones whiche haue contynewed.ii. peres before in the countrey. In their place so many fresshe be sent thither out of the citie, whiche of them that haue bene there a peare all ready, and be therfore expert and conninge in husbandry, shalbe instructed & taught. And they the next peare shall teache other. This order is vsed for feate that other skarsenes of victualles or some other like incommoditie shuld chaūce, through lacke of knowledge: yf they should be al together newe and fresh & vnexperte in husbandrie. This maner

and faſſion of yearlye chaunginge and renewinge the occupiers of huſbandrie, though it be ſolempne & cuſtomablie vſed, to thintent that no man ſhall be conſtrayned againſt his will to continewe longe in that harde and ſharpe kynde of lyfe, yet many of them haue ſuche a pleaſure and delete in huſbandrye, that they obteyne a longer ſpace of yeares. Thies huſbandmen plowe and till the grounde, and brynge vp cattell, and make readye woode, whiche they carrye to the cytie either by lande, or by water, as they maye moſte conuenyently. They brynge vp a greate multytude of pullayne, and that by a meruelous policie. ffor the hennes doo not ſyt vpon the egges: but by keppynge them in a certayne equall heate, they brynge lyfe into them, and hatche them. The chyckens, aſſone as they be come owte of the ſhell, followe men and women in ſteade of the hennes. They bryng vp verye fewe horſes: nor non, but verye fearce ones: & for none other vſe or purpoſe, but only to exercyſe their youthe in rydynge,

and

and feates of armes. ffor oxen be put to all the labour of plowynge and drawyng. Whiche they graunte to be not so good as horses as sodeyne brunt, and (as we saye) at a dead lifte, but yet they holde opinion, that oxen wyll abyde and suffre muche more labour and payne, then horses wyl. And they thinke that they be not in daunger and subiecte vnto so many dysseases, and that they bee kepte and mayntayned wyth muche lesse coste and charge: and fynally that they be good for meate whē they be past labour. They sowe corne vnlye for bread. ffor their drynke is other wyne made of grapes, or els of apples, or peares: or els it is cleane water. And many tymes methe made of honey or liquerisse sodde in water, for therof they haue great store. And though they knowe certeynlye (for they knowe it perfectly in dede) how much victaples the cytie with the hole countrey or shiere rounde a boute it dothe spēde: yet they sowe much more corne, and breed vp muche more cattell, then serueth for their own vse. And the ouer

plus

plus they parte amonge their borderers. What soeuer necessary thynges be lackynge in the countrey, all suche stuffe they fetche out of the citie: where without anye exchaunge they easelye obteyne it of the magistrates of the citie. For euerye moneth manye of them goo into the cytie on the hollye daye. When theyr haruest daye draweth nere, and is at hande, then the Philarches, whiche be the hed officers and bayliffes of husbandrye sende woorde to the magistrates of the citie what nũbre of haruest men is nedefull to bee sente to them out of the cytie. The whiche companye of haruest men beyng there readye at the daye appoynted, almoste in one fayre daye dispatcheth all the haruest woorke.

Of the cy=

ties and namely of Amaurote.

S for their Cpties, he that knoweth one of them knoweth them all: they be all so lyke one to an other, as ferfurth as the nature of the place permytteth. I wyll describe therfore to powe one or other of them, for it skyleth not greatly whych, but which rather then Amaurote? Of them all this is the worthiest and of moste dignitie. ffor the respowe knowledge it for the head Cptie, because there is the counsell house. Nor to me any of them al is better beloued, as wherin I lyued fyue hole peares together. The cptie of Amaurote standeth vpon the syde of a low hill in fashiō almoste four square. ffor the bredeth of it begynneth a litle benethe the toppe of the hyll, and styll contynueth by ỹ space of twoo miles vntyll it cum to the ryuer of Anyder. The lenghte of it whiche lyeth by the

ryuers

ryuers syde is sumwhat more. The ryuere of Anyder rysethe. xxiiij. myles aboue Amaurote bwte of a lytle sprynge. But beynge increasede by other small floodes and brookes that runne into yt, and amonge othere.ij. sumwhat bygge ons, before the cytye yt ys halfe a myle brode, and farther broder. And .xx. myles beyonde the citye yt falleth into the Ocean sea. By al that space that lyethe betwene the sea and the cytye, and a good sorte of myles also aboue the Cytye the water ebbethe and flowethe .vi. houres togethere wyth a swyfte tyde. When the sea flowethe in for the lenghte of xxx. myles yt fyllethe all the Anyder wyth salte water, and dryuethe backe the freshe water of the ryuer. And sumwhat furthere yt chaungethe the swetenes of the freshe water wyth saltnes. But a litell beyonde that the ryuer waxeth swet, and runneth forby the city fresh and pleisaunt. And when the sea ebbeth, and goyth backe agayn the freshe water followeth yt almoste euen to the verye falle in to the sea.

There goeth a bꝛydge ouer the ryuer made not of pyles oꝛ of tymber, but of ſtonewarke with goꝛgious and ſubſtanciall archeis at that parte of the cytye that is fartheſt from the ſea: to the intent that ſhyppes maye goo alonge foꝛbie all the ſyde of the cytie without lette. They haue alſo an other ryuere whiche in dede is not very great. But it runneth gentelly and pleaſauntlye. ffoꝛ it ryſeth euen out of the ſame hyll that the cytie ſtandeth vpon, and runneth downe a ſlope thꝛough the myddes of the citie into Anyder. And bicauſe it ryſeth a lytle without the citie, the Amaurotians haue incloſed the head ſpꝛynge of it with ſtronge fences and bulwarkes, and ſo haue ioyned it to the cytie. Thys is done to the intente that the water ſhould not be ſtopped, noꝛ turned a waye, oꝛ poyſoned, if their enemyes ſhould chaunce to come vpon them. ffrom thence the water is deꝛyued and bꝛought downe in cannellis of bꝛycke dyuers wayes into the lower partes of the cytie. Where that cannot be done by reaſon that the place wyll

wyll not ſuffer it, there they gather the rayne water in greate ciſternes, which doth them as good ſeruice. The cytie is compaſſed aboute wyth a highe and thycke walle full of turrettes and bulwarkes. A depe dyche, but deape and brode and ouergrowen with buſſhes briers and thornes, goeth about. iij. ſydes or quarters of the cytie. To the fowrth ſyde the ryuer it ſelfe ſerueth for a dytche. The ſtretes be appoynted and ſet forth verye commodious and handſome bothe for carriage and alſo agaynſt the wyndes. The houſes be of fayre and gorgious buyldyng, and in the ſtreete ſyde they ſtonde ioyned to gether in a longe rowe throughe the hole ſtreate without anye partition or ſeparacion. The ſtretes be twenty fote brode. On the backe ſyde of the houſes throughe the hole lengthe of the ſtrete lye large gardeynes whyche be cloſed in rounde about with the backe parte of the ſtretes. Euery houſe hath two doores, one into the ſtrete and a poſterne dooze on the backſyde into the gardyne. Thyes doores, be made

with two leaues neuer locked nor bolted so easye to be opened that they wil followe the least drawing of a fynger and shutte agayne by themselfes. Euerye man that wyll maye goo yn, for there is nothynge wythin the howses that ys pryuate, or annye mannes owne. And euerye .x. yeare they chaunge their howses by lotte. They sett great stoore be theyr gardeins. In them they haue vyneyardes, all manner of frute, herbes and flowres, so pleisaunte, so well furnished, and so fynelye kepte, that I neuer sawe thynge more frutefull, nor better trymmed in anny place. Their studye and delygence herin cummeth not only of pleasure, but also of a certeyne stryffe and contentyon that is betwene strete and strete concernynge the trymmynge husbanding and furnyshyng of their gardeyns: euery man for hys owne part. And verily yow shall not lyghtly fynde in all the citye annye thynge, that is more commodyous, other for the proffyte of the citizins, or for pleasure. And therfore it may seme that the first fownder of the

cytye

city mynded nothynge so muche, as he dyd thies gardeyns. For they say that kyng Utopus himself euen at the first begenning appointed, and drew furth the platte fourme of ye city into this fasion & figure that it hath nowe, but the gallaunt garnishing, & the bewtiful setting furth of it, wherunto he sawe that one mãs age wold not suffice: ye he left to his posterity. For their Cronicles, which they kepe writtẽ with al deligẽt circũspection, conteining the history of M.viiC.lx.years, euen from the fyrste conquest of the Iland, recorde and witnesse that the howses in the beginning were verye lowe, and lyke homelye cotages or poore shepparde howses, made at all aduentures of euerye rude pyece of woode that came fyrste to hãdes, wyth mudde walles and rydged rooffes thatched ouer with straw. But nowe ye houses be curiously builded after a gorgiouse and gallaunt sort, wt.iij. storries one ouer another. The owte sydes of the walles be made other of harde Flynte or of plauster orelles of brycke, and the ynner sydes be well

strengthened with tymber woorke. The rooffes be playne and flatte, couered with a certayne kinde of plaster that is of no coste, and yet so tempered that no fyre can hurte or perythe it, and withstandeth the violence of the weether better then anye leade. They kepe the wynde out of their windowes with glasse, for it is there much vsed, and sumwhere also with fyne lynnen clothe dipped in ople or ambre, and that for twoo commodities. ffor by thys meanes more lyght cummeth in, and the wynde is better kept out.

Of the Magystrates.

Everye thyrty families or fermes chewse them yearlye an officer, whythe in their olde language is called the Syphograunte, & by a newer name the Phylarche. Euerye tenne Syphoagrauntes, with all

all their 200 families bee vnder an officer whyche was ones called the Tranibore, now the chiefe Phylarche. Moreouer as concerninge the election of the Prynce, all the Syphograntes which be in number. 200. first be sworne to chewse him whome they thynke moste mete and expedyente. Then by a secrete electyon they name prynce one of those. iiij. whome the people before named vnto them. ffor vvte of the. iiij. quarters of the citie there be iiij. chosen, vvte of euerye quarter one, to stande for the election: Whyche be put vp to the counsell. The princes office continewethe all his liffe time, vnles he be deposed or put downe for suspitiō of tirannye. They chewse the tranibores yearlye, but lightlye they chaunge them not. All the other offices be but for one yeare. The Tranibores euerye thyrde daye, and sumtymes, if neade be, oftener come into the councell house with the prynce. Theire councell is concernynge the common wealth. yf there be annye controuersyes amonge the commouers, whyche be very fewe,

they dyspatche and ende them by and by. They take euer. ij. Siphograntes to them in cowncell, and euerye daye a newe counsel. And yt ys prouyded that no thynge towchynge the common wealthe shalbe confyrmed and ratifyed, onles yt haue bene reasoned of and debated .iij. dayes in the cowncell, before yt be decreed. It is deathe to haue anye consultacyon for the common wealthe owte of the cowncell, or the place of the common electyon. Thys statute, they saye, was made to thentente, that the prynce and Tranibores myghte not easely conspire together to oppresse the people by tyrannye, and to chaunge the state of the weale publique. Therfore matters of greate weyghte and importaunce be brought to the electyon house of the syphograuntes, whyche open the matter to their familyes. And afterwarde, when they haue consulted among them selfes, they shewe their deuyse to the cowncell. Sumtyme the matter is brought before the cowncell of the hole Iland. Furthermore thys custome

also

also the cowncell vseth, to dyspute or reason of no matter the same daye that it ys fyrste proposed or putt furthe, but to dyfferre it to the nexte syttynge of the cownsell. Bycause that no man when he hathe rasshelye there spoken that cummeth fyrste to hys tonges ende, shalt then afterwarde rather studye for reasons wherewyth to defende and confyrme hys fyrste folyshe sentence, than for the commodytye of the common: wealtheas one rather wyllynge the harme or hynderaunce of the weale publyque then annye losse or dymynntyon of hys owne existymatyon. And as one that wolde not for shame (which is a verye folyshe shame) be cowntede annye thynge ouerseen in the matter at the fyrste, Who at the fyrste owghte to haue spoken rather wysely then hastely or rashelye.

Of scyences Craftes and Occupatyons.

Hus-

Husbandrye is a scyence common to them all in gener all, both men and women, wherin they be all experte and cunnynge. In thys they be all instructe euen from their youth: partely in schooles with traditions and preceptes, and partely in the contrey nighe the cytye, brought vp as it were in playing, not onlye beholdynge the vse of it, but by occasyon of exercisinge their bodies practisinge it also. Besides husbandry, which (as I sayde) is common to them all, euery one of them learneth one or other seuerall and particuler science, as hys owne proper crafte. That is most commonly other clothewoorkinge in wolle or flaxe, or masonrie, or the smythes crafte, or the carpentes scyence. ffor there is none other occupacyon that anye numbre to speke of doth vse there. ffor their garmentes, whyche throughoute all the Ilande be of one fassion, (saynge that there is a difference betwene the mans garmente and the womans betwene the maried and the vnmaried

marped) and this one continueth for euer more vnchaunged, semely and comely to the eye, no let to the moupnge and welopnge of the bodie, also fitte bothe for winter and summer, as for thies garmentes (I saye) euery familye maketh theire owne. But of the other foresepde craftes euerye man learneth one. And not only the men but also the women. But the women as the weaker sorte be put to the easere craftes: they worke wull and flaxe. The other more laborsome sciences be committed to the men. For the moste parte euerye man is brought vp in his fathers craft. For moste commonly they be natural ly therto bente and inclined. But yf a mans minde stonde to anny other, he is by adoption put into a familye of that occupatiō which he doth most fantasy. Whome not only his father, but also the magistrates do diligently looke to, that he be putt to a discrete and an honest householder. Yea and if anny person, when he hath lerned one crafte, be desierous to lerne also another, he ys lykewyse suffrede and permytted.

When

When he hathe learned bothe, he occuppethe whether he wyll: onles the cytye haue more neade of the one then of the other. The chyefe and almoste the onelye offyce of the Syphograuntes ys to see and take hede that no man sytte ydle. But that euerye one applye hys owne crafte wyth earneste delygence. And yet for all that not to be weryed from earlye in the mornynge to late in the euennynge wyth contynuall woorke, lyke laborynge and toylynge beastes. For thys ys worse then the myserable and wretced condytyon of bondemen. Whyche neuer thelesse is almoste euerye where the lyffe of woorkemen and artyfycers, sanynge in vtopia. For they dyuydinge the daye and the nyghte into. xxiiij. iust houres, appoynte and assygne only. vi of those houres to woorke. iij. before none, vpon the whyche they goo streyghte to dyner: and after dyner, when they haue rested. ij. houres, then they woorke. iij: and vpon that they goo to supper. Aboute. viij. of the clocke in the euenynge (cowntynge

one

one of the clocke at the fyrste houre after none) they go to bedde. viij. houres they giue to sleape. All the voide time, that is betweene the houres of woorke slepe and meate, that they be suffered to bestowe, euerye man as he lyketh beste hym selfe. Not to thintente they shoulde mysspende thys tyme in ryote, or sloughfullenes. But beynge then licensed from the laboure of theyr owne occupacyons, to bestowe the time well and thryftely vpon some other good science, as shall please them. ffor yt ys a solempne custome there, to haue lectures daylye earlye in the morning, wher to be present they onlye be constreined that be namelye chosen and appoynted to learnynge. Howe be yt a greate multytude of euerye sorte of people, bothe men and women goo to heare lectures, some one and some an other, as euerye mans nature is inclyned. Yet, this notwithstonding, yf any man had rathere bestowe thys tyme vpon hys owne occupacyon, (as yt chaunceth in manye, whose myndes ryse not in the contemplacyon of anye sciẽce

libe-

lyberal) he is not letted, nor prohibited, but is also praysed and commended as profitable to the common wealthe. After supper they bestowe one houre in playe: in somer in their gardeynes: in winter in their commē halles, where they dyne and suppe. There they exercise them selfes in musyke, or els in honeste and holsome communicaiion. Diceplaye and suche other folish and pernicious games they knowe not, but they vse .ij. games not muche vnlike the chesse. The one is the battell of nombers. Wherin one numbre stealethe awaye another. The other is wherin vices fyghte wyth vertues, as it were in battell array, or a set fyld. In the which game is verye properlye shewed bothe the striffe and discorde that vices haue amonge themselfes, and agaynst their vnitye and concorde againste vertues: And also what vices be repugnaunt to what vertues: with what powre and strenght they assaile them openlyer by what wieles and subtelye they assaute them secretelye: with what helpe and aide the vertues resiste, and ouercome

the

the puissaunce of the vices : by what craft they frustrate their purposes: and finally by what sleight or meanes the one getteth the victory. But here leste you be deceaued, one thinge you muste looke more narrowly vpon. For seinge they bestowe but. vi. houres in woork, perchaunce you maye thinke that the lacke of some necessarye thinges herof may ensewe. But this is nothinge so. For that small time is notonly inough, but also to muche for the stoore and abundaunce of all thinges that be requisite, other for the necessitie, or commoditie of liffe. The whiche thing you also shall perceaue, if you wey and consider with your selfes how great a parte of the people in other contreis lyueth vdle. ffirst almooste all women, which be the halfe of the hole numbre: or els if the women be annye where occupied, their moste comonlye in their steade the men be vdle. Besydes thys how great, and howe vdle a companye ys they? of prystes, and relygyous men, as they call them: put there to all ryche men, speciallye all landed men, whyche co-

monly be called gentylmen, and noble men. Take into this numbre also their seruauntes. I meane all that flocke of stout bragging rusthe bucklers. Joyne to them also sturdy and valiaunt beggers, clokinge their idle lesse vnder the colour of some disease or sickenes. And truely you shall find them much fewer then you thought, by whose labour all these thynges be gotten, that men vse & lyue bye. Nowe consyder with youre selfe, of thies fewe that do woorke, how few be occupied in necessary woorkes. ffor where money beareth all ỹ swing, ther many vayne and superfluous occupations must needs be vsed, to serue only for ryotous superflupte, and vnho nest pleasure. ffor the same multytude that now is occupied in woorke, if they were deuided into so few occupations, as the necessary vse of nature requyreth: in so greate plentye of thinges as then of necessity wolde ensue, doubtles the prices wolde be to lytle for the artifycers to mayntayne theyre lyuynges. But of all thyes, that be nowe busyed about vnprofitable occupations, with

all

all the hole flocke of them that lyue ydelye and slouthfullye, whych consume and waste euerye one of them more of thies thynges that come by other mens laboure, then .ij. of the workmen themselfes doo: yf all types (I saye) were sette to profytable occupations, powe easelye perceaue howe lytle tyme wolde be enoughe, yea and to muche to stoore vs wyth all thynges that maye be requysyte other for necessytye, or for commodytye, yea or for pleasure, so that thesame pleasure be trewe and naturall. And thys in Vtopia the thynge yt selfe maketh manifeste and playne. ffor there in all the citye, wyth the hole contrey, or shyere adioynynge to yt, I raselye .500. persons of all the hole nombre of men and women, that be nother to olde, nor to weale to woorke, be licensed from labour. Amonge them be the Siphograuntes (which though they be by the lawes exempte and pryuileged from labour) yet they exempte not themselfes: to the intent they maye the rather by their example prouoke other to woorke. The

same vacation from labour do they also enioye, to whome the people persuaded by the commendation of the prieste and secrete election of the Siphograntes haue geuen a perpetual licence from labour to learnyng. But if anny one of them proue nott accordinge to the expectation and hoope of him conceaued, he is furth with plucked backe to the company of artificers. And contrarye wise, often yt chaunceth that a handicraftes man doth so earnestly bestowe hys vacaunte and spare houres in learninge, and through dilygence so profytte therin, that he is taken frome hys handy occupation, and promoted to the company of the learned. Owt of this ordre of the learned be chosen ambassadours, prieste, Tranibores, and finallye the prince him selfe. Whome they in their olde tonge call Barzanes, and by a newer name, Adanus. The residewe of the people being nother vile, nother occupied about vnprofitable exercises, it may be easelye iudged in how fewe howres how much good woorke by them maye be doone, towardes

those thinges that I haue spoken of. This commodity they haue also aboue other, that in the most part of necessary occupations they neade nott so muche worke, as other nations doo. For firste of all the buildinge or repayring of houses asketh euery where so manye mens continuall labour, bicause that the vnthrifty heyre suffreth the howses that hys father buylded in contynewaunce of tyme to fall in decay. So that which he myghte haue vpholden with lytle coste, hys successoure is constreynede to buylde yt agayne a newe, to hys greate chardge. Yea manye tymes also the howse that stoode one man in muche moneye, another ys of so nyce and soo delycate a mynde that he setteth nothynge by yt. And yt beynge neglected, and therefore shortely falynge into ruyne, he buyldeth hys another in an othere place with no lesse coste and chardge. But emonge the Vtopians where all thynges be sett in a good ordre, and the common wealthe in a good staye, yt verye seldome chaunceth, that they chuse a

new plotte to buylde an house vpon. And they doo not only finde spedy and quicke remedies for present faultes: but also preuente them that be like to fall. And by this meanes their houses continewe and laste very longe with litle labour and small reparacions in so much that ỹ kind of woorkemen sumtimes haue almost nothinge to doo. But that they be commaunded to hewe timbre at home, and to square and trime vp stones, to the intente that if anye woorke chaūce, it may the spedelier rise. Now syre in theire apparell marke I praye you howe few woorkemen they neade. Firste of all whyles they be at woorke they be couered homely with leather or skinnes that will laste. vij. yeares. Whē they go furthe a brode they caste vpon them a cloke, whyche hydeth the other homelye apparell. Theyr clookes thoroughe owte the hole Iland be all of one colour, and that is the naturall colour of ỹ wul. Theyrfor do not only spende muche lesse woullen clothe then is spente in othere contreys, but also the same standeth them in muche

lesse

lesse coste. But lynen clothe ys made wyth lesse laboure, and ys therefore hadde more in vse. But in lynen clothe onlye whytenese, in wullen oulye clen lynes ys regardede. As for the smalnese or fynesse of the threde, that ys no thynge passed for. And thys ys the cause wherfore in other places. iiij. or. v clothe gownes of dyuers colours, and as manye sylke cootes be not enoughe for oue man. Yea and yf he be of the delycate and nyse sorte. x. be to fewe: where as there one garmente wyll serue a man mooste commenlye. ij. yeares. For whie shoulde he desyre moo: seing if he had them, he should not be the better hapt or couered frō colde, nother in his apparell any whyt the cumlyer. Wherefore, seynge they be all exercysed in profytable occupatyons, and that fewe artyfycers in thesame craftes be suffycyente, thys ys the cause that plentye of all thynges beynge emonge them, they doo sumtymes bring furthe an innumerable companye of people to amende the hyghe wayes yf annye be broken. Manye times also

when they haue no such woorke to be occupied about, an open proclamation is made that they shall bestowe fewer houres in woorke. For the magistrates do not exercise their citizens against theire willes in vnneadfull labours. For whie in the institution of that weale publique this ende is onlye and chiefely pretended and mynded, that what time maye possibly be spared frō the necessary occupations and affayres of the commen wealthe, all that the cytizeins sholde withdrawe from the bodelp seruice to ỹ free liberty of ỹ mind & garnisshing of ỹ same. For herin they suppose the felicity of this life to cōsist

Of their lyuing and mutuall conuersatiō together

But now will I declare how the citizens vse theselues one towardes another: what familiar occupieng & entertaynement there is emong ỹ people, and what fasion they vse in distributinge euery thynge.

First

ffirst ye citye cõsisteth of families, ye families moste cõmonlie be made of kinredes. ffor the women when they be marped at a lawfull age, they goo into their husbandes houses. But the male chyldzẽ, with al the hole male ofspring continue we still in their owne familie, & be gouerned of the eldest and auncientest father, onles he dote for age: for then the next to hym in age, is put in his rowme. But to thintẽt the prescript numbze of the citezens shoulde nether decrease, nor aboue measure increase, it is ordeined that no famylie whiche in euerye citie be. vi. thousand in the hole, besydes them of the contrey, shall at ones haue fewer chyldren of the age of. xiiii. yeares or there aboute then. x. or mo then. xvi. for of chyldren vnder thys age no numbze can be appointed. This measure or numbze is easely obserued & kept, by puttinge them that in fuller families be aboue the numbze into families of smaller increase. But if chaunce be that in the hole citie the store encrease aboue the iust numbze, therewith they fyll vp the lacke of

other cities. But if so be that the multitude throughout the hole Iland passe and excede the dew numbre, then they chewse out of euery citie certeyn cytezens, & buylde vp a towne vnder their owne lawes in the nexte lande where the inhabitauntes haue muche waste & vnoccupied grounde, receauinge also of the inhabitaūtes to them if they wil ioyne and dwel with them. They thus ioyning and dwelling together, do easelye agre in one fassion of liuing, and that to the great wealth of both the peoples. ffor they so bringe the matter about by their lawes, that the grounde which before was nether good nor profitable for the one nor for the other is nowe sufficiente and frutefull enough for them both. But if the inhabitauntes of that lande wyll not dwell with them to be ordered by their lawes, then they dryue them out of those boundes which they haue limited and apointed out for themselues. And if they resiste and rebell, then they make warre against them. ffor they counte this the moste iust cause of warre, when any peo-

people holdeth a piece of grounde voyde and vacannt to no good nor profitable vse, keppng other from the vse and possession of it, whiche notwithstandyng by the lawe of nature ought thereof to be nourysshed & relieued. If any chaunce do so muche diminysshe the numbre of anye of their cyties that it cannot be fylled vp agayne wythout the diminishynge of the inst numbre of the other cyties (whiche they say chaunced but twyse syns the begynnynge of the lande through a greate pestilente plage) then they make vp the numbre with cytezens fetched out of their owne forrepne townes, for they hadde rather suffer theyr forrepn townes to decaye and perysshe, then anye cytie of their owne Ilande to be diminysshed. But nowe agayne to the conuersation of the cytezens amonge themselfes. The eldeste (as I sayde) ruleth the familie. The wyfes bee ministers to theyr husbandes, the chyldren to theyr parentes, and to bee shorte the yonger to theyr elders. Euerye Cytie is diuided into

foure

foure equall partes. In the myddes of euery quarter there is a market place of all maner of thynges. Thether the workes of euery familie be brought in to certeyne houses. And euery kynde of thynge is layde vp seuerall in barnes or store houses. ffrom hēce the father of euery famelie or euery housholder fetcheth whatsoeuer he and hys haue neade of, & carieth it awaye with hym without money, without exchaūge, without annye gage or pledge. ffor whye should anye thynge be denyed vnto hym: seyng there is abundaunce of all thynges, and that it is not to be feared lest anye man wyll aske more then he neadeth? ffor whie should it be thoughte ỹ that man would aske more then enough, whiche is sewer neuer to lacke? Certeynly in all kyndes of lyuynge creatures other fere of lacke doth cause couetousnes and rauyne, or in man only pryde, whiche counteth it a gloryouse thynge to passe and excell other in the superfluous and vayne ostentacion of thynges. The whyche kynde of vice amonge the Vtopians

can

can haue no place. Next to the market places that I spake of, stonde meate markettes: whether be brought not only all sortes of herbes, and the fruites of trees with breade, but also fishe, and all maner of .iiij. footed beastes, and wilde foule that be mans meate. But first the spilthynes and ordure therof is clene washed awaye in the runnynge ryuer without the cytie in places appoynted mete for the same purpose. ffrom thence the beastes brought in kylled, and cleane washed by the handes of their bondemen. ffor they permytte not their frie citezens to accustome there selfes to the killing of beastes through the vse whereof they thinke that clemencie the gentelleste affection of our nature doth by litle and litle decaye and perysshe. Nother they suffer anye thynge that is spilthye lothesome or vncleanlye, to be brought into the cytie, least the ayre by the stenche therof infected and corrupte, shoulde cause pestilente diseases. Moreouer euerye strete hath certeyne great large halles sett in equal distaunce one from

an other, euerye one knowne by a seue-
rall name. In thies halles dwell the
Syphograuntes. And to euery one of
the same halles be apoynted. xxx. fami-
lies, of ether side. xb. The stewardes of
euery halle at a certayn houre come in
to the meate markettes, where they re-
cepue meate accordinge to the numbre
of their halles. But first and chiefly of
all respect is had to the sycke, that be
cured in the hospitalles. For in the cir-
cuite of the citie a litle without the wal
les they haue. iiij. hospitalles, so bygge
so wyde so ample & so lardge that they
may seme. iiij. litle townes which were
deuised of ỹ bygnes partely to thintẽt
the sycke, be they neuer so many in nũ-
bre, shuld not lye to thronge or strapte,
and therfore vneasely & incomodiously,
and partely that they which were ta
ken & holden with contagious disea-
ses, suche as be wonte by infection to
crepe from one to an other, myght be
laid a part farre from the cõpany of ỹ
residue. Thies hospitalles be so well
apointed, & with al thynges necessary
to health so furnished, & more ouer so

dili-

diligẽt attẽdaũce through the cõtinuall presence of cũnyng phisitians is geue, that though no man be sent thither against his will, yet notwithstandinge there is no sicke persone in all ỹ citie, that had not rather lye there thẽ at home in his owne house. When the stewarde of the sicke hath receiued suche meates as the phisitians haue prescribed, then the belke is equally deuided among the halles, according to the cõpany of euery one, sauing that there is had a respect to the prince, the bysshop, the tranibours and to ambassadours, & all straungers, if there be any, whiche be very fewe and seldome. But they also when they be there, haue certeyne houses apointed and prepared for thẽ. To thies halles at ỹ set houres of dinner & supper cummith all the hole Siphograuntie or warde warned by the noyse of a brasen trũpet: except such as be sicke in ỹ hospitalles or els in their owne houses. Howe beit no man is prohibited or forbid, after ỹ halles be serued, to fetch home meate out of ỹ market to his owne house, ffor they knowe

that

that no man wyl doo it without a cau-
se reasonable. ffor thoughe no man be
prohibited to dyne at home, yet no mã
doth it willyngly: because it is coun-
ted a pointe of small honestie. And also
it were a folly to take the payne to
dresse a badde dyner at home whẽ they
maye be welcome to good & fyne fare
so ryghe hande at the hall. In this hal
all byle seruice all slauerie and drud-
gerye, with all labourſome toyle and
busines is done by bondemen. But the
women of every famelie by course ha-
ue the office and charge of cokerye for
sethinge and dressynge the meate, and
orderyng al thinges therto belonging.
They syt at. iij. tables or moo, acco-
dyng to the numbre of their company.
The men syt vpon the benche next the
wall, and the women agaynst them on
the other syde of the table, that if anye
sodeyne euell should chaunce to them,
as many tymes happeneth to women
with chylde, they maye ryse wythout
trouble or disturbaunce of anye body,
and go thence into the nurcerie: The
nources sitte seuerall alone with their

ponge

ponge suckelinges in a certayne pa-
loure apointed & deputed to the same
purpose, neuer without fire & cleane wa
ter, nor yet without cradels, that whē
they wyll they maye laye downe the
yong infauntes, and at their pleasure
take them out of their swathynge clo-
thes and holde them to the fyere, and
refreshe them with playe. Euery mo-
ther is nource to her owne chylde, on-
les other death or sickenes be the let.
When that chaunceth, the wyues of
the Siphograuntes quyckelye prou-
yde a nource. And that is not harde
to be done. ffor they that can doo it do
proffer themselfes to no seruice so glad
lye as to that. Because that there thys
kynde of pitie is muche praysed: and
the chylde that is nourysshed euer after
taketh hys nource for his owne natu-
rall mother. Also amonge the nour-
ces, syt all the chyldren that be vnder
the age of v. yeares. All the other chil-
dren of both kyndes, aswell boyes as
gyrles that be vnder the age of mar-
yage doo other serue at the tables, or
els if they be to yonge therto, yet they

stande by with meruelous silẽce. That whiche is geuen to them frõ the table they eate, and other seuerall dyner tyme they haue none. The Syphograunt & his wife sitteth in the middes of the highe table, forasmuche as that is counted the honerablest place, and because from thence al the hole compayne is in their syght. ffor that table stãdeth ouer wharte the ouer ende of the halle. To them be ioyned. ii. of the auncientest and eldest. ffor at euery table they syt. iiii. at a meesse. But if there be a church stãding in that Syphograũtie or warde, then the priest and his wyfe sitteth with the Syphograũte, as chiefe in the cõpany. On both sydes of them sytte ponge men, and nexte vnto them agayne olde men. And thus throughe out all the house equall of age be sette together and yet be myxte with vnequall ages. Thys they saye was ordeyned to the intent that the sage grauitie and reuerẽce of the elders should kepe the pongers from wanton licence of wordes and behauiour. ffor as muche as nothyng can be so secretly spo-

ken

ken or done at the table, but either they that ſpt on the one ſyde or on the other muſt nedes perceiue it. The diſſhes be not ſet downe in order frō the firſt place, but all the old mē (whoes places be marked with ſom ſpeciall token to be knowē) be firſt ſerued of there meate, & then the reſidue equally. The old men deuide their dainties as they think beſt to the ponger that ſit of both ſides thē. Thus the elders be not defrauded of their dewe honoure, and neuertheleſſe equall cōmoditie cōmeth to euery one. They begin euery dynner & ſupper of reading ſumthing ẏ perteineth to good maners & vertue. But it is ſhort, becauſe no mā ſhalbe greued therwith. Here of the elders take occaſion of honeſt cōmunication, but nother ſad nor vnpleaſaunt. Howbeit they do not ſpend all ẏ hole dyner time thēſelfes nō long & tedious talkes: but they gladly here alſo the pong mē, yea & do purpoſly prouoke thē to talke, to thentent ẏ they maye haue a proofe of euery mās wit & towardnes or diſpoſition to vertue, which cōmōly in ẏ liberte of feaſtīg doth ſhew &

bter it selfe. Theire dyners be verye shorte: but there suppers be sumwhat lō ger, because that after dynner followeth labour, after supper sleape and naturall reste, whiche they thynke to be of no more strengthe and efficacy to holsome and healthfull digestion. No supper is passed without musicke. For their bankettes lacke no conceptes nor iouckettes. They burne swete gūmes and speces for perfumes and pleasaūt smelles, and sprincle about swete oyntmentes and waters, yea they leaue nothyng vndone that maketh for the cherynge of the company. For they be muche enclyned to this opinion: to thinke no kynde of pleasure forbidden, wherof cummeth no harme. Thus therfore and after this sorte they lyue togethers in the citie, but in the contrey they that dwell alone farre from anye neyghbours, do dyne and suppe at home in their owne houses. For no famelie there lacketh anye kynde of victualles, as from whome cummeth all that the cytezens eate and lyue bye.

Of

¶ Of their

iourneyenge or trauaylynge abrode, with dyuers other matters cunnynglye reasoned & wittilie discussed.

But if any be desierous to vysite other their frendes that dwel in an other Cytie, or to see the place it selfe: they easelye obteyne lycence of their Siphograuntes and Tranibores, oneles there bee som profitable let. No man goeth out alone but a companye is sente furth together with their princes letters, whiche do testifie that they haue licence to go that iorney, and prescribeth also the day of their retourne. They haue a wagepn geuen them, with a cõmon bondman whiche driueth the oxen & taketh charge of thẽ. But onles they haue women in their companye they sende home the wagepn againe, as an impediment and a let. And though they carrye nothyng furth wit thẽ, yet in all their iorney they lacke nothing. For wherso-

uer they come they be at home. If they tary in a place longer then one day, thā there euery one of them falleth to his own occupation, & be very gentilly enterteined of the workmen & companies of thesame craftes. If any man of his owne head & without leaue, walke out of his precinct & boūdes, takē without the princes lettres, he is brought again for a fugitiue or a runaway with great shame & rebuke, & is shapely punished. If he be taken in that faulte agayne he is punished with bondage. If anye be desierous to walke a brode into the fieldes, or into the cōtrey that belongeth to thesame citie that he dwelleth in, obteynyng the good will of his father, & the cōsent of his wife, he is not prohibited. But into what part of ye cōtrey soeuer he cūmeth, he hath no meat geuin him vntill he haue wrought out his forenones taske, or els dispatched so muche worke as there is wonte to be wrought befor supper. Obseruing this lawe and condition, he may go whether he well within the boundes of his owne citie. For he shalbe no les profitable to the

cy tie,

citie, thē if he were within it. Now you see howe litle libertie they haue to loyter, how they can haue no cloke or pretence to idelnes. There be nether wyne tauernes nor ale houses, nor stewes, nor any occasion of vice or wickednes, no lurking corners, no places of wicked conuicelles or vnlawfull assembles. But they be in ỹ presence sight, & vnder the yes of euery man. So that of necessitie they must other applie their accustomed labours, or els recreate thē selfes with honest & laudable pastymes. This fassion being vsed amōg the people, they must of necessitie haue store & plētie of all thinges. And seing they be al therof parteners equally, therfore can ne no man there be poore or nedye. In the councel of Amaurot (whether, as I sayde, euery citie sendeth iij. mē a peece yearly) assone as it is perfectly knowē of what thynges there is in euery place plentie, and agayne what thynges be skant in anye place: incontinent the lacke of the one is performed and fylled vp with the aboundaunce of the other. And this they doo freely without

any benifite, takyng nothing agayn of thē to whō the thinges is geuē, but those cyties that haue geuen of their store to anye other cytie that lacketh, requyrynge nothynge agayne of thesame cytie, do take suche thinges as they lacke of an other cytie, to whome they gaue nothynge. So the hole Ilande is as it were one famelie, or housholde. But when they haue made sufficiente prouision of stoore for them selfes (whiche they thynke not doone vntyll they haue prouyded for two yeares followynge, bicause of the vncertentie of the nexte yeares proffe) then of those thynges wherof they haue abundaunce they carry furthe into other contreis greate plenty as grayne, honnye, wulle, flaxe, woode, madder, purple die felles, waxe, tallowe, lether, and liuyng beastes. And the seuenth part of all thies thynges they gyue franckely and frelye to the poore of that cōtrey. The resydewe they sell at a reasonable and meane price. By this trade of traffique or marchādise, they bring into their own cōtrey, not only great plētie

of

of golde and siluer, but also all suche thynges as they lacke at home, whych is almoste nothynge but Iron. And by reason they haue longe vsed thys trade nowe they haue more abundaunce of thies thynges then any man wyll beleue. Nowe therfore they care not whether they sell for redye money: or elles vpon truste to be paide at a daye and to haue the most part in debtes. But in so doyng they neuer followe the credence of priuat men: but the assurcaunce or warrauntise of the hole citye, by instrumentes and writinges made in that behalfe according lye. When the daye of paymente is come and expyred, the cytye gathereth vp the debte of the priuate dettours, and putteth it into the common boxe, and so long hath the vse and profyte of it, vntyll the vtopians their creditours demaunde it. The mooste parte of it they neuer aske. ffor that thynge whyche is to them no profyte to take it from other to whom it is profytable: they thinke it no righte nor cõscience. But yf the case so stande that they must lende parte of that money to

an other people, then they require
theyre debte: or when they haue warre.
ffor the whyche purpose onelye they
keap at home al ỹ treasure, which they
haue, to be holpen and socoured by yt
other in extreame ieopardyes, or in sud
deyne daungers. But especyallye and
chiefelye to hiere therwyth and that for
vnreasonable greate wayges straunge
soldyours. ffor they hadde rather put
straungers in ieopardye then theyre
owne contreye men: knowinge that for
moneye enoughe theire enemyes them-
selfes manye tymes maye be bowghte
and solde, or els throughe treason be
sette togethers by the eares emonge
themselfes. ffor thys cause they kype
an inestymable treasure. But yet not as
a treasure: but so they haue yt, & vse yt,
as in good faythe I am ashamede to
shewe: fearynge that my wordes shal
not be beleued. And thys I haue more
cause to feare, for that I knowe howe
vnfacultlye and hardelye I meselfe
wolde haue beleued an other man tel-
lynge the same, yf I hadde not present
lye seene yt wyth myne owne yes.

ffor

For pt muste nedes be, that howe farre a thing is dissonaunt and disagreinge from the guyse and trade of the hearers, so farre shall pt be owte of theyr beleffe. Howbe pt a wyse and indifferente estymer of thynges wyll not greatly marueil perchaūce, seing al theyr other lawes and customes doo so muche differre from owres, yf the vse also of golde and syluer amonge them be applyed, rather to theyr owne fassyons then to owers. I meane in that they occuppe not moneye themselfes, but kepe pt for that chaunce, whyche as pt maye happen, so pt maye be that pt shall neuer come to passe. In the meane tyme golde and syluer, whereof moneye ys made they doo soo vse, as none of them dothe more estyme pt, then the verye nature of the thynge deseruethe. And then who dothe not playnlye see howe farre pt ys vnder Iron? as wythoute the whyche men canne no better lyue then wythowte fyere and water. Whereas to golde and syluer nature hathe geuen no vse, that we may not wel lacke:

yf

yf that the folly of men hadde not sette it in hygher estymacyon for the rarenes sake. But of the contrary parte, nature as a moste tender and louynge mother, hath placed the beste and moste necessarye thynges open a brode: as the ayere, the water, and the earth it selfe. And hath remoued and hydde farthest from vs vayne and vnprofytable thynges. Therfore yf thies metalles amōg them shoulde be fast locked vp in some tower, it myghte be suspected that the prynce and the cowncell, as the people is euer foolyshelye ymagininge) iutended by some subtyltye to deceaue the commons, and to take some proffette of it to themselfes. Furthermore if they should make therof plat & such other fiuely & cunningly wrought stuffe: yf at anye tyme they shoulde haue occasyon to breake it, and melte it agayne, and therwyth to paye their souldiours wages they see and perceiue very well that men wolde be lothe to parte from those thynges that they ons begome to haue pleasure and delytein. To remedye all thys they haue fownde owt a meanes,
which

which as it is agreable to al their other lawes and customes, so it is from ours where golde is so muche set by, and so diligently kepte, very farre discrepant and repugnaunt: and therfore incredible, but only to them that be wise. For where as they eate and drincke in earthen and glasse vesselles, which in dede be curiously and properlie made, and yet be of very small value: of gold and siluer they make commonlye chamber pottes and other like vesselles, that serue for moste vile vses, not only in their common halles, but in euery mans private house. Furthermore of thesame mettalles they make greate chaynes with fetters and gines wherin they tye their bondmen. Finally who so euer for any offence be infamed, by their eares hange ringes of golde: vpon their fingers they were ringes of golde, and about their neckes chaynes of gold: and in conclusiō their heades be tiede about with golde. Thus by all meanes that may be they procure to haue gold and siluer emong them in reproche and infamy. And therfore thies metalles, which

other

other nations do as greuously and sor rowfully forgo, as in a maner frō their owne liues: if they should all togethers at ones be taken from the vtopians, no man there wold thinke that he had lost the worth of one farthing. They gather also peerles vp the sea side, & Diamondes and Carbūcles vpō certein rockes, and 'yet they seke not for them: but vp chaunce finding them they cutt and po lish the. And therwith they decke their ponge infauntes. Which like as in the first yeares of their childhod they make much and be fond and proud of such ornamentes, so when they be a litle more growen in yeares and discretion, perceiuing that none but children do were such toies and trifeles: they lay them awaye euen of theyr owne shamefastenes wythowte anny e biddyng of there parentes: euen as oure chyldren when they ware bygge doo caste awaye nuttes, brouches, and puppettes. Ther fore thyes lawes and customes whych be so farre differente from all othere natyons, howe diuers fanseys also and myndes they doo cause, dydde I ne-

ner

ner so playnlye perceaue, as in the Ambassadoures of the Anemolians. Thyes Ambassadoures came to Amaurote whyles I was there. And bycause they came to entreat of greate & weighty matters, those .iij. citizeins a pece out of euery city were commen thether before thē. But al the Ambassadours of ỹ next contreis, which had bene there before, and knewe the fassions & maners of the Vtopians, amonge whome they perceaued no honoure geuen to sumptuous and costelye apparell, silkes to be contemned, golde also to be enfamed and reprocheful, were wont to come thether in very homely and simple apparell. But the Anemolianes bicause they dwell farre thence, and had verye litle acquaintaunce with thē: hearinge that they were al apparelled a like, and that verye rudelye and homelye: thynkynge them not to haue the thynges whyche they dydde not weare: beynge therefore more proud then wise: determined in the gorgiousnes of their apparel to represent very goddes, and wyth the bright shynynge and glisteringe of

theyr

their gape clothinge to dasell the eyes of the silie poore vtopains. So ther came in. iij. Ambassadours w̄. C. seruaun tes all appareled in chaungeable colours: the moost of them in silkes: the Ambassadours themselfes (for at home in their owne cōūtrey they were noble me) in cloth of gold w̄ great cheiues of gold. w̄ gold hāging at their eares with gold ringes vpō their fingers w̄ brouches & aglettes of gold vpon their cappes, which glistered ful of peerles & pretious stones: to be short trīmed, & aduorned with al those thinges, which emōg the vtopians were other the punnisheement of bond men, or the reproche of infamed persones, or elles trifels for ponge children to playe with all. Therfore it wolde haue done a man good at his harte to haue sene howe proudely they displeyed theire peacockes fethers howe muche they made of their paynted sheathes, and howe loftely they sett forth and aduaunced them selfes, when they compared their gallaunte apparell with the poore rayment of the vtopiās. ffor al the people were swarmed

furth

furth into the stretes. And on the other side it was no lesse pleasure to consider howe muche they were deceaued, and how farre they missed of their purpose: being contrary wayes taken then they thought they shoulde haue bene, for to the yes of all the vtopians, excepte very fewe, whiche had bene in other contreys for some resonable cause, al that gorgeousnes of apparrel semed shamefull and reprochefull. In so much that they most reuerently saluted the vyleste, and most abiect of them for lordes: passing ouer the Ambassadours themselfes without any honour: iudging them be their wearing of golden cheynes to be bondeme. nye a you shuld haue sene children also that had caste away their peerles and pretious stones, whē they sawe the like sticking vpon the Ambassadours cappes: digge and pushe their mothers vnder the sides sayinge thus to them. Loke mother how great a lubber doth yet were peerles and pretious stoones, as though he were a litel child still. But the mother, yea and that also in good earnest: peace sone saith she: I

thynk he be some of the Ambassadours fooles. Some fownde fawte at theire golden chepnes as to no vse nor purpose: beynge so small and weake, that a bondeman mpghte easelye breake them, and agapne so wyde and large that when it pleased him he mpght cast them of, and runne awaye at lpbertye whether he wolde. But when the Ambassadoures hadde bene there a daye or .ij. and sawe so greate abundaunce of gold so lyghtelye estymed, yea in no lesse reproche then pt was wpth them in honour; and besydes that, more golde in the chepnes and gyues of one fugptyue bondeman, then all the costelye ornamentes of them .iij. was worth: they beganne to abate theyre currage, and for verye shame layde awaye all that gorgyouse arraye wherof theye were so prowde. And specyallye when they hadde talkede familyerlye wpth the Utoppans, and hadde learnede all theyre fassyons and oppynyons. ffor they marueyle that anye men be soo folyshe as to haue delyte and pleasure in the glysterynge

of

of a lytyll tryfelynge stone, whyche maye beholde anye of the starres, or elles the soone yt selfe. Or that anye man ys so madde as to counte him selfe the nobler for the smaller or fyner threde of wolle, whyche selfe same wolle (be it nowe in neuere so fyne a spynne threde) dyde ones a shepe weare: and yet was she all that time no other thyng then a shepe. They marueyle also that golde, whyche of the owne nature is a thynge so vnprofytable, is nowe emonge all people in soo hyghe estymatyon, that man hym selfe, by whō, yea and for the vse of whome yt ys so muche sett by, ys in muche lesse estymatyon then the golde yt selfe. In so muche that a lumpysshe blockehedded churle, and whyche hathe no more wytte then an asse, yea and as full of noughtenes and folysshenes, shall haue neuertheles many wyse and good men in subiectyon and bondage, onlye for thys, bycause he hathe a greate heape of golde. Whyche yf yt should be taken from hym by anye fortune, or by some subtyll wyle of the lawe,

(which no lesse then fortune doth raise vp the lowe, and plucke downe the high) and be geuē to the most vile slaue and abiect drouell of all his housholde, then shortely after he shall goo into the seruice of his seruaunt, as an augmentation or an ouerplus besyd his money. But they much more marueill at and detest the madenes of them, whyche to those riche men, in whose debte and daunger they be not, do giue almoste diuine honowres, for non other consideration, but bicause they be riche: and yet knowing them to be suche nigelhe pennyfathers, that they be sure as lōg as they liue, not the worthe of one farthinge of that heape of gold shall come to them. Thies and such like opinions haue they conceaued, partely by education, beinge brought vp in that commō wealth, whose lawes and customes be farre different from thies kindes of folly, and partely by good litterature and learning. For though ther be not many in euery citye, whiche be exempte and discharged of all other labours and appointed only to learninge, that is to

saye

ſaye: ſuche in whome euen from theire
very childhode they haue perceaued a
ſinguler towardnes, a ſyne witte, and
a minde apte to good learning: yet all
in their childhode be inſtructe in lear-
ninge. And the better parte of the peo-
ple bothe men and women throughe
owte all theire hole lyffe doo beſtowe
in learninge thoſe ſpare howres, which
we ſayde they haue vacante from bo-
delye laboures. They be taughte lear-
ninge in theire owne natyue tonge. ffor
yt is bothe copious in woordes, and
alſo pleaſaunte to the eare: and for the
vtteraunce of a mans minde verye per-
fecte and ſure. The mooſte parte of all
that ſyde of the woorlde vſeth the ſame
langage, ſauinge that amonge the Vto-
pians yt is ſyneſte and purſyſte, and
accordynge to the dyuerſyty of the
contreys yt ys dyuerſlye alterede. Of
all thyes Philoſophers, whoſe names
be here famous in thys parte of the
woorlde to vs knowen, before owre
cummynge thether nott as muche as
the fame of anye of them was comen
amonge them, and yett in Muſyche,

Logycke, Arythmetyke, and Geometrye they haue fownde owte in a manner all that oure auncyente Philosophers haue tawghte. But as they in all thynges be almoste equall to oure olde auncyente clerkes, so our newe Logiciens in subtyll inuentyons haue farre passed and gone beyonde them. ffor they haue not deuysed one of all those rules of restryctyons, amplyfycatyons and supposityons, very wittely inuented in the small Logycalles, whyche heare oure chyldren in euerye place do learne. ffurthermore they were neuer yet able to fynde out the seconde intentyons: in so muche that none of them all coulde euer see man hymselfe in commen, as they call hym, thoughe he be (as yow knowe) bygger then euer was annye gyaunte, yea and poynted to of vs euen wyth our fynger. But they be in the course of the starres, and the mouynges of the heauenlye spheres verye expert and cunnynge. They haue also wyttelye excogytated and diuised instrumentes of diuers fassyons, wherin is exactly com

sowle, of the body, and of fortune. And whether the name of goodnes maye be applied to all thies, or onlie to the endowmentes and giftes of the sowle. They reason of vertue & pleasure. But the chiefe and principall question is in what thynge, be yt one or moo, the felycytye of man consisteth. But in thys poynte theye seme almooste to muche geuen and enclyned to the opinion of them whiche defende pleasure, wherin they determine other all or the chiefyste parte of mans felycytye to reste. And (whyche is more to bee marueled at) the defence of thys soo depnye and delycate an opynyon, they fetche euen from theyre graue sharpe better and rygorous relygyon. ffor they neuer dysputte of felycytye or blessednes, but they ioyne to the reasons of Philosophye certeyne prynciples taken owte of relygyon: wythoute the whyche to the inuestygatyon of trewe felycytye theye thynke reason of yt selfe weake and vnperfecte. Thoose prynciples be thyes and suche lyke. That the sowle ys immortall, and by

prehended and conteyned the mouyn-
ges and ſituatyons of the ſonne, the
moone, & of all the other ſtarres which
appere in theyr horyzon. But as for
the amityes and diſſentyons of the pla
nettes, and all that deceptefull diuyna
tyon by the ſtarres, they neuer aſmuch
as dreamed therof. Rayne s, windes, &
other courſes of tempeſtes they knowe
before by certein tokens which they ha
ue learned by long vſe and obſeruatiō.
But of the cauſes of all thies thinges, &
of the ebbinge, flowinge, and ſaltnes
of the ſea, and ſpnallye of the orygy-
nall begynnyng and nature of heauen
and of the worlde, they holde partelye
the ſame oppinyons that our olde philo
ſophers holde, and partelye as our phi
loſophers darye emonge themſelfes, ſo
they alſo whiles they bringe new rea-
ſons of thynges doo diſagree from all
them, and yet emonge themſelfes in all
poyntes they doo not accorde. In that
part of philoſophie which intreateth of
maners and vertue theire reaſons
and oppinyons agree wyth ours. They
diſpute of the good qualytyes of the

the bountifull goodnes of God ordey-
ned to felicitie. That to our vertues &
good deades rewardes be apoynted af
ter this lyfe, and to our euell deades
punyſhementes. Though thies be per-
teynyng to religion, yet they thynke it
mete that they ſhoulde be beleued and
graunted by profes of reaſon. But if
thies principles were cōdempned and
diſanulled, then without anye delaye
they pronounce no man to be ſo foliſh,
whiche woulde not do all hys diligen-
ce and endeuoure to obteyne pleaſure
be ryght or wronge, onlye auoydynge
this inconuenience, that the leſſe plea-
ſure ſhould not be a let or hynderaūce
to the bygger: or that he laboured not
for that pleaſure whiche would bryng
after it diſpleaſure greefe and ſorrowe.
For they iudge it extreame madnes to
folowe ſharpe and peinful vertue, and
not onlye to baunyſhe the pleaſure of
lyfe, but alſo wyllyngly to ſuffre griefe
without any hope of profyt thereof.
For what profyt can there be, if a mā
when he hath paſſed ouer all hys lyfe
vnpleaſauntly that is to ſay wretched-

lyfe, shall haue no rewarde after hys death. But now for they thynke not felicitie to reste in all pleasure, but onlye in that pleasure that is good & honest, and that hereto as to perfet blessednes our nature is allured and drawen euen of vertue, wherto onlye they that be of the contrary opinion do attribute felicitie. ffor they define vertue to be a life ordered according to nature, and that we be hereunto ordeined of god. And that he doth followe the course of nature, which in desiering and refusyng thynges is ruled by reason. ffurthermore that reason doth chiefelie and principallye kendle in men the loue and veneration of the deuyne maiestie. Of whoes goodnes it is that we be, and that we be inpossibilitie to attayne felicite. And that secondarelye it moueth and prouoketh vs to leade our lyfe out of care in iope and mirth, and to helpe all other in respecte of the societe of nature to obteyne the same. ffor there was neuer man so earnest and paynefull a follower of vertue, and hater of pleasure, that woulde so inioyne you

labour

labours watchinges & fastinges, but he would also exhort you to ease & lighten to your powre, the lacke & mysery of others praysyng the same as a dede of humanitie and pitie. Then if it be a poynte of humanitie for man to bryng health and comforte to man and specially (whiche is a vertue moste peculiarly belongynge to man) to mitigate and assuage the grief of others, and by takyng from them the sorowe and heuynes of lyfe, to restore them to ioye, that is to saye to pleasure: whye maye it not then be sayd that nature doth prouoke euery man to doo the same to hym selfe? For a ioyfull lyfe, that is to saye, a pleasaunt lyfe is other euell: and if it be so, then thou shouldest not only helpe no man therto, but rather as muche as in the lieth helpe all men from it as noysome and hurtefull, or els if thou not only mayste, but also of dewtie art bounde to procure it to others, why not chiefely to theself? To whome thou art bound to shewe as muche fauour as to other. For whē nature biddeth the to be good & gētle to other,

the commaundeth the not to be cruell and vngentle to the selfe. Therfore euery nature (saye they) prescribith to vs a ioyfull lyfe, that is to saye, pleasure as the ende of all our operations. And they defyne vertue to be lyfe ordered accordyng to the prescrypt of nature. But in that that nature dothe allure and pronoke men one to healpe another to lyue merily (whiche surely she doth not without a good cause: for no man is so farre aboue the lot of mans state or condicion that nature doth carke and care for hym only whiche equallye fauoureth all that be comprehended vnder the cõmunion of one shape forme and fassion) verely she cõmaundeth the to vse diligent circumspection that thou do not so seke for thine owne cõmodities, ỹ thou procure others incõmodities. Wherfore their opinion is that not onlye couenauntes and bargaynes made amonge priuate men ought to be well and faythfullye fulfylled obserued and kept, but also commen lawes, whiche other a good prince hath iustly publyshed, or els the

people

people nother oppressed with tyraunny, nother deceaued by fraude and spell, hath by their common consent constitute and ratifyed, concernyng the partition of the commodities of lyfe, that is to say the matter of pleasure. Thies lawes not offendid, it is wysdome that thou looke to thyne owen wealthe. And to do thesame for the common wealth is no lesse then thy duetie, if thou bearest any reuerent loue or any naturall zeale and affection to thy native countrey. But to go about to let an other man of his pleasure whiles thou procurest thyne owne, that is open wrõg. Contrary wyse to withdrawe somethynge from they selfe to geue to other that is a pointe of humanitie and gentylnes: whiche neuer taketh a waye so muche commoditie, as it bryngeth agayne. ffor it is recompensed with the retourne of benefytes, and the conscience of the good dede with the remembraunce of the thankefull loue and beneuolence of them to whom thou hast done it, doth bryng more pleasure to thy mynde, then that whiche thou hast with-

withholden from thy selfe could haue brought to the bodye. Finallye (which to a godly disposed & a religious mind is easie to be persuaded) God recompenseth the gifte of a short & small pleasure with great and euerlastinge ioye. Therfore the matter diligentlie wayde and considered, thus they thinke, that all our actions and in thē the vertues thēselfes be referred at the last to pleasure, as their ende & felicitie. Pleasure they call euery motion and state of the bodie or mynde, wherin mā hath naturallye delectatiō. Appetite they ioyne to nature. And that not without a good cause. For like as not onlye the senses, but also right reason coueteth whatsoeuer is naturallye pleasaunt, so ẏ it may be gotten without wrōg or iniurie, not letting or debarring a greater pleasur, nor causing painful labour, euē so those thinges that mē by vaine pmagination do fayne against nature to be pleasaunt (as though it lay in their powre to chaunge ẏ thinges as they do ẏ names of thinges) al suche pleasurs they beleue to be of so small helpe & furtherraunce

raunce to felicitie, that they counte the̅ great let and hinderaũce. Because that in whom they haue ones taken place, all his mynde they possesse with a false opinion of pleasure. So that there is no place left for true and naturall delectacions. ffor there be manye thynges, whiche of their owne nature conteyne no pleasauntnes: yea the moste part of them muche grief and sorrow. And yet through the peruerse and malicious flickering inticemẽtes, of lewde and vnhoneste despres, be taken not only for speciall & souereigne pleasures, but also be counted amonge the chiefe causes of life. In this coũterfeat kinde of pleasure they put the̅ that I speake of before. Which the better gown they haue on the better men they thynke the̅ selfes. In the whiche thynge they doo twyse erre. ffor they be no lesse deceaued in that they thynke their gowne the better, than they be in that they thinke themselfes the better. ffor if you consider the profitable vse of the garmente, whye shoulde wulle of a fyner sponne threde, be thoughe better, then

the

the wul of a course spoune threde. Yet they as though the one dyd passe the other by nature, and not by their mistakyng, auaunce themselfes and thinke the price of their owne persones thereby greatly encreased. And therfore the honoure whiche in a course gowne they durste not haue lokyd for, they require as it were of dewtie for their fyner gownes sake. And if they be passed by without reuerence, they take it angerlye and disdaynfully. And agayne is it not a lyke madnes to take a pride in vayne and vnprofitable honoures. ffor what naturall or trewe pleasure doest thou take of an other mans bare hede or bowed knees? Will thys ease the payne of thy knees, or remedye the phrensie of thy heade? In this ymage of counterfeyte pleasure, they be of a maruelous madnes, which for the opinion of nobilitie reioyse muche in their owne conceite. Because it was their fortune to come of suche auncetours, whoes stocke of longe tyme hath bene counted ryche (for nowe nobilitie is nothynge elles) specially ryche in lan-

des,

des. And though their auncetours left them not one fote of lande, or els they themselfes haue pylled it agaynste the walles, yet they thynke themselfes not the lesse noble therefore of one heare. In thys nombre also they counte them that take pleasure & delyte (as I saide) in gemmes and precious stones, and thynke themselues almoste goddes, if they chaunce to gette an excellent one, specially of that kynde whyche in that tyme of their owne contreye men is had in hyghest estimation. ffor one kynde of stone kepeth not hys pryce styll in all contreis, and at all tymes. Nor they bye them not but taken out of the golde and bare. Ne nor so nother before they haue made the seller to sweare that he wyll warraunte and assure it to be a trewe stone and no counterfept geme. Suche care they take lest a counterfet stone shoulde deceaue their eyes in the steade of a right stone. But whye shouldest thou not take euen asmuche pleasure in beholdynge a counterfette stone whiche thyne eye cannot discerne from a ryght stone?

They shoulde both be of lyke value to the, euen as to a blynde man. What shall I saye of them that kepe superfluous ryches, to take delectacion onely in the beholdynge, and not in the vse or occupyenge therof? Do they take trewe pleasure, or els be they deceaued with false pleasure? Or of them that be in a contrary vice, hydynge the golde whiche they shall neuer occupie nor peraduenture neuer see more? And whiles they take care leaste they shall leese it, do leese it in dede. For what is it elles, when they hyde it in the grounde, takynge it bothe from their owne vse, and perchaunce from all other mens also? And yet thou when thou haste hidde thye treasure as one out of all care hoppest for ioye. The whyche treasure if it shoulde chaunce to bee stoolen, & thou ignorant of the theefte shouldest dye tenne yeares after: all that tenne yeares space that thou lyuedest after thy money was stolen, what matter was it to the whether it hadde bene taken a waye or els sanke as thou leftelte it? Truelye bothe

waye

wayes lyke proffyt came to the: To thyes so foolyshe pleasures they ioyne dycers, whoes madnes they knowe by heare say and not by vse. Hūters also, and hawkers: For what pleasure is there (saye they) in castynge the dice vpō a table. Which ye hast done so oftē, that if theire were anye pleasure in it, yet the ofte vse myghte make the werye therof? Or what delite can there be, and not rather dyspleasure in hearynge the barkynge and howlynge of dogges? Or what greater pleasure is there to be felte, when a dogge followeth an hare, then when a dogge followeth a dogge: for one thynge is done in both, that is to saye, runninge, if thou haste pleasure therein. But if the hope of slaughter, and the expectation of tearynge in pieces the beaste dothe please the: thou shouldest rather be moued with pitie to see a seely innocent hare murdered of a dogge: the weake of the stronger, the fearefull of the fearce, the innocente of ye cruell and vnmercyfull. Therefore all thys exercyse of huntynge, as a thynge

vnworthye to be vsed of free men, the Vtopians haue reiected to their bochers, to the whiche craffte (as wee sayde before) they appointe ther bondmen. ffor they counte huntyng the lowefte vyleſte and moſte abiecte parte of bocherye, and the other partes of it more profytable and more honeſte, as whiche do bringe muche more commoditie, and doo kyll beaſtes onlye for neceſſytie. Where as the hunter ſeketh nothynge but pleaſure of the ſeely and wofull beaſtes ſlaughter and murder. The whiche pleaſure in beholdyng death they thynke dothe ryſe in the very beaſtes, other of a cruell affection of mynde, orels to be chaunged in continuaunce of time into cruelte, by longe vſe of ſo cruell a pleaſure. Thies therfore & all ſuche lyke, which be innumerable, though the common ſorte of people doth take them for pleaſures, yet they, ſeyng there is no naturall pleaſauntnes in them, to playnelye determine them to haue no affinitie with trewe and right pleaſure. ffor as touchyng that they do cõmonlye moue

the

the sence with delectacion (whiche seemeth to be a worke of pleasure) thys doth nothing diminisshe their opinion. ffor not the nature of the thynge, but there peruerse and lewde custome is y cause hereof. Whiche causeth them to accepte bitter or sowre thinges for swete thinges. Euen as women with childe in their viciate & corrupt taste thinke pitche and tallowe sweter then anye honney. Howbeit no mans iudgement depraued and corrupte, other by sickenes, or by custome can chaunge the nature of pleasure, more then it can doo the natur of other thinges. They make diuers kyndes of trew pleasures. ffor som they attribute to the soule, & som to the bodye. To the soule they gyue intelygence, and that delectation that cummeth of the contemplation of truthe. Here vnto is ioyned the pleasaunt remembraunce of the good lyfe past. The pleasure of the bodye they deuide into ii. partes. The first is when delectatiō is sensibly felte & perceaued. Whiche many times chaunceth by the renewing and refyllyng of thoes partes which

owre naturall heate drieth vp. Thys cummeth vp meate and drynke. And sumtymes whyles those thynges be voided, wherof is in ỹ body ouer great abundaũce. This pleasure is felte whẽ wee doo our naturall easemente; or when we be doynge the acte of generacyon, or when the ptchynge of anye parte is eased with rubbynge or stratchinge. Sumtimes pleasure riseth exhibitinge to any membre nothing that it desireth, nor taking from it any payne that it feeleth, which forall that tickleth and moueth our senses with a certein secrete efficacy, but with a manifest motion, and turneth them to it. As is that which cummeth of musicke. The secõd part of bodely pleasure they say is that which consisteth and resteth in the quiete and vpright state of the body. And that truelye is euery mans owne proper health entermyngled and dysturbed wyth no griefe. ffor thys, yf yt be not letted nor assauited with no greiffe is delectable of yt selfe, thoughe yt be moued wyth no externall or outwarde pleasure. ffor though it be not so plain

and

and manyfeste to the sense, as the gre-
dye luste of eatynge and drynckynge,
yet neuertheles manye take it for the
chyefeste pleasure. All the Vtopyans
graunte yt to be a ryghte greate plea-
sure, and as yow wolde saye the foun-
datyon and grownde of all pleasures,
as whyche euen alone ys able to make
the state and condytyon of lyffe delec-
table and pleasaunte. And yt beynge
ones taken awaye, there ys no place
lefte for annye pleasure. ffor to be
wythowte grefe not hauinge health,
that they call vnsensyblyte and not
pleasure. The Vtopians haue longe
agoo reiected and condempned the
opynyon of them, whyche sayde that
stedfaste and quyete healthe (for thys
questyon also hath bene dylygentelye
debated emonge them) owghte not
therefore to be cownted a pleasure, bi-
cause they saye yt can not be presente-
lye and sensyblye perceaued and felte
by some owtwarde motion. But of the
contrarye parte nowe they agree al-
moste all in thys, that healthe ys a
moste souereygne pleasure. ffor seinge

that in sycknes (saye they) is griefe, which is a mortal ennemie to pleasure, euē as sickues is to health, why shuld not then pleasure be in the quietues of health? ffor they say it maketh nothing to thys matter, whether yow saye that sickenes is a griefe, or that in sickenes is griefe, for all cummeth to one purpose. ffor whether health be a pleasure it selfe, or a necessary cause of pleasure, as fyer is of heate; truelye bothe wayes it foloweth, that they cannot be without pleasure that be in perfyt healthe. ffurthermore whyles we eate (saye they) then health whiche began to be appayred fyghteth by the helpe of foode against hunger. In the whych fyghte whyles healthe by lytle and lytle getteth the vpper hande, that same proceedyng, and (as ye would say) that onwardnes to the wonte strengthe mynistreth that pleasure, wherbye wee be so refresshed. Healthe therefore, whiche in the conflycte is ioyfull, shall it not bee merye when it hathe gotten the victory? But as sone as it hathe recouered thee pristynate strength,

strengthe, whyche thinge onelye in all the fyghte it coueted, shall it incontinēt be astonied? Nor shall it not knowe nor imbrace ye owne wealthe and goodnes? For that it is sayed healthe can not be felte, this, they thinke, is nothing trew. For what man wakynge say they, feleth not hymselfe in health: but he that is not? Is there annye man so possessed wyth stonyshe insensibilitie, or with the sleping sicknes, that he wyll not graunt health to be acceptable to hym and delectable? But what other thing is delectation, than that whiche by an other name is called pleasure? They imbrace chiefely the pleasures of the mind. For them they cownte the chiefist ond most principall of all. The cheyfe parte of them they thinke doth come of the exercise of vertue and conscience of good lyffe. Of thies pleasures that the boddye ministreth they geue the preemynence to helth. For the delyte of eating and drincking, and whatsoeuer hath anny like pleasauntnes they determyne to be pleasures muche to be desiered, but no other wayes than for healthes

take. For suche thynges of theyr owne proper nature be not pleasaunte, but in that they resyste sychenes pre-uelpe stealynge one. Therefore lyke as yt ys a wyse mans parte rather to auoyde sychenes, then to wyshe for medycynes, and rather to dryue away and put to flyghte carefull grefes, then to call for comforte: so yt ys much better not to neade thys kynde of pleasure, then in fealynge the contrarye grefe to be eased of the same. The whyche kynde of pleasure yf anye man take for hys felycytye, that man muste nedes graunte that then he shall be in mooste felycytye, yf he sue that lyffe whyche ys ledde in contynuall honger, thurste, itchynge, eatynge, drynkynge, scratchynge, and rubbynge. The whyche lyffe howe not onlye foule yt is, but also myserable, and wretched, who perceaueth not? Thyes dowteles be the baseste pleasures of all, as vnpure & vnperfecte. For they neuer cum but accõpanied wyth their contrary greiffes. As with ỹ pleasure of eatinge is ioyned hunger, & that

after

after no very egal sort. For of thies. ñ. the gryeffe is bothe the more vehement and also of longer continuaunce. For it rysethe before the pleasure, and endeth not vntyll the pleasure dye wyth it. Wherfore such pleasures they think not greatly to be set by, but in ẏ they be necessary. Howbeit they haue delite also in thies, & thãkfully knouledge ẏ tẽder loue of mother nature, which with most pleasaũt delectation allureth her childrẽ to ẏ, which of necessitye they be driuẽ oftẽ vse. For how wretched & miserable should our liffe be, if thies daily greiffes of hũger & thrust coulde not be dreuẽ away, bnt with bitter potions, & sower medicines, as the other deseases be, where with we be seldomer troubled? But bewtye, strengthe, nemblenes, thies as peculiare and pleasaunte giftes of nature they make muche of. But those pleasures which be receaued by the eares, the iyes, and the nose, which nature willeth to be proper and peculiar to man (for no other kind of lining beastes doth behold the fayrenes and the bewtie of the wordle, or is mo-

ned

ded with anny respect of sauours, but only for the diuersity of meates, wother perceaueth the concordaunt and discordante distaunces of soundes, and tunes) thies pleasures (I say) they accept and allowe as certein pleasaunt reioysinges of liffe. But in all thinges thys cautell they vse, that a lesse pleasure hinder not a bigger, & that ỹ pleasur be no cause of displeasur/whych they thinke to followe of necessytye if the pleasure be vnhoueste. But yet to dysppse the cõlynes of bewtye, to waste the bodyly strengthe, to tourne nymblenes into slonghishnes, to consume and make feble the boddye wyth fastynge, to doo iniurye to health, and to reiect the other pleasaunte motyons of nature (onles a man neglecte thies hys commodytyes, whyles he doth wyth a feruent zeale procure the wealth of others, or the cõmen profyytte, for the whyche pleasure forborne he is in hope of a greater pleasure of GOD) els for a hayne shadowe of vertue, for the wealthe and profette of no man to punyshe hymselfe, or to the intente he maye be able

contragiouslye to suffre aduersitye: whyche perchaunce shall neuer come to hym: thys to doo they thynke it a poynte of extreme madnes, and a token of a man cruelly minded towardes hymselfe, and vnkynd towarde nature, as one so disdaynynge to be in her daunger, that he renounceth and refuseth all her benefytes. Thys is theire sentence and opinion of vertue and pleasure. And they beleue that by mans reason none can be fownde trewer then this, onles anye godlyer be inspyred into man from heauen. Wherin whether they beleue well or no, nother the tyme dothe suffer vs to discusse, nother it is nowe necessarye. ffor we haue taken vpon vs to shewe and declare theyr lawes and ordenaunces, and not to defende them. But thys thynge I beleue verely: howe soeuer thies decrees be, that their is in no place of the worlde, nother a more excellent people, nother a more flourysshynge commen wealthe. They be lyghte and quycke of bodye full of actiuity and nymblenes, and of more strengthe the a mã wold iudge

them

them by theyre stature, whyche set all that ps not to lowe. And thoughe theyre soyle be not verye fruteffull, nor theyre ayer verye holsome, yet agaynste the ayer they soo defende them wyth temperate dyete, and soo order and husbande theyr grounde wyth dylygente trauayle, that in no contreye ps greatter increase, and plentye of corne and cattell, nor mens bodies of longer lyffe, and subiect or apte to fewer deseases. There therfore a man maye see well and diligentlye exployted and furnished, not onlye those thinges whyche husbandmen doo cõmenly in other countreys: as by craft and cunning to remedy the barrennes of ỹ grounde: but also a hole wood by the handes of the people plucked vp by the rotes in one place and sett agayne in an other place. Wherin was hadde regard and consideration not of plenty but of cõmodious carriage, that wood and tymber might be nigher to the sea, or the riuers, or the cities. ffor it is lesse laboure and busines to carrye grayne farre by lande then wood. The peo-

ple

ple be gentle, merye, quycke, and fyne wytted, delyghtynge in quyetnes, and when nede requyreth, able to abyde and suffre muche bodelye laboure. Elles they be not greatelye desyerous and fonde of yt: but in the exercyse and studdye of the mynde they be never werye. When they had harde me speake of the Greke lytterature or learnynge (for in Latyne there was nothynge that I thought they wolde greatelye allowe, besydes hystoryens and Poetes) they made wonderfull earnestre and importunate sute vnto me, that I wolde teache and instructe them in that tonge and learnynge. I beganne therefore to reade vnto them, at the fyrste truelye more bycause I wolde not seme to refuse the labour, then that I hoped that they wolde anye thyng profyte therin. But when I had gone forwarde a lytle and perceaued incontynente by theyr dylygence that my labour shoulde not be bestowed in vayne, for they beganne so easelye to fassyon theyr letters, so plainly to pronoūce ỹ woordes,

so

so quyckely to learne by harte, and so suerly to rehearse the same, that I marueled at it, sauynge that the most parte of them were fyne, and chosen wittes, and of ryppe age, pyked oute of the companye of the learned men, whyche not onlye of theyr owne faer and voluntarye wyll but also by the commaundemente of the cowncell, vndertoke to learne thys langage. Therfore in lesse then .iij. yeres space their was nothing in the Greke tonge that they lackede. They were able to reade good authors wythout anny staye, if the booke were not false. Thys kynde of learnynge, as I suppose they toke so muche the souner, bycause, it is sumwhat allyaunte to them. For I thynke that thys nation tooke their beginninge of the Grekes, bycause their speche which in all other poyntes is not muche vnlyke the persian tonge, kepeth dyuers signes and tookens of the greke langage in the names of their cityes and of theire magystrates. They haue of me (for when I was determyned to entre into my .iiij. voyage I caste into the shippe in the steade

of

of marchandyse a pretye fardell of bookes: bycause I intended to come agayne rather neuer than shortely the mooste parte of Platoes woorkes, more of Aristotles, also Theophrastus of Plantes, but in diuers places (which I am sorye for) vnperfecte. For whyles wee were saylynge, a mormolett chaunced vpon the booke, as yt was negligentlye layde by, whyche wanntonlye playinge therewyth, plucked owte certeyne leaues, and toore them in pieces. Of them that haue wrytten the grammer they haue onelye Lascaris. For Theodorus I caried not wyth me, nor neuer a dyctyonarye but Hesichius and Dioscorides. They sett greate storre by Plutarches bookes. And they be delyted wyth Lucianes merye conceptes and iestes. Of ỹ Poettes they haue Aristophanes Homer, Euripides, and Sophocles in Aldus small prynte. Of the Historyans they haue Thucidides, Herodotus, and Herodian. Also my cõpanion Tricius Apinatus caried with him phisick bokes, certein smal woorkes of Hippo

crates, and Galenes Microtechne. The whyche boke they haue in greate estymatyon. For thoughe there be almost no nation vnder heauen that hath lesse nede of Phisick then they, yet this notwythstondyng Phisicke is no where in greater honour. Bycause they count the knowledge of yt emonge the goodlieste, and mooste profytable partes of Philosophie. For whyles they by the helpe of thys Philosophie searche owte the secrete mysterpes of nature, they thynke that they not onlye receaue ther by wonderfull greate pleasur, but also obteyng great thankes and fauour of the auctoure and maker therof. Whome they thynke accordynge to the fassyon of other artyfycers to haue sett furthe the maruelous and gorgious frame of the worlde for man to beholde. Whome onelye he hathe made of wytte and capacytye to consyder and vnderstand the excellencye of so greate a woorke. And therefore saye they dothe he beare more good wyll and loue to the curyous and diligent beholder and bewere of his woorke & maruelour at the same, then

then he doth to him, whyche lyke a ve-
ry beaste wythowte wytte and reason,
or as one wythowte sense or mouynge,
hath no regarde to soo greate and soo
wonderfull a spectacle. The wyttes the
refore of the Vtopians inurede and ex-
ercysed in learnynge, be marueilous
quycke in the inuentyon of feates, hel-
pynge aunye thynge to the aduantage
and wealthe of lyfe. Howebeyt.ü. fea-
tes theye maye thanke vs for. That is
the science of imprintyng and the craf-
te of makynge paper. And yet not one-
lye vs but chyefelye and principallye
themselfes. For when wee shewede to
them Aldus hys pryute in bookes of
paper, and told them of the stuffe wher
of paper is made, and of the feat of gra
vynge letters, speakynge sumwhat mo
re then wee colde playnlye declare (for
there was none of vs that knewe per-
fectlye other the one or the other) they
furthwyth verye wyttelye coniectured
the thynge. And where as before they
wrote onelye in skynnes, in barkes of
trees, & in rides, now they haue attemp
ted to make paper & to imprint letters.

And thoughe at the fyrste yt proued not all of the beste ,yet by often assaynge the same they shortely gott the feate of bothe. And haue so broughte the matter abowte, that yf they had coppes of Greeke authores, they coulde lacke no bookes. But nowe they haue no mooze, then I rehearsed before ,saynge that by prynting of bookes they haue multyplyed and increased the same into manye thowsande of coppes: Who soeuer cummeth thether to see the lande, beynge excellente in anye gyfte of wytte, or throughe muche and longe iournyenge well experienced and sene in the knowledge of manye countreys (for the whyche cause wee were verye welcome to them) hym they receyue and intertayne wonders gentyllye, and lo vnglye. ffor they haue delyte to heare what ys done in euerye lande, howebeyt verye few marchaunte men come thythere. ffor what shoulde they bringe thither: onles yt were Iron, orels golde and syluer, whiche they hadde rathere carrye home agayne.

Also

Also suche thynges as arre to be carryed owte of their lande, they thynke yt more wysedome to carrye that geer furthe themselfes, then that othere shoulde come thether to fetche yt, to thentente they maye the better knowe the owte landes of everye syde them, and kepe in bre the feat and knouledge of saplinge.

Of Bondemen, sicke persons, wedlocke, and dyners other matters.

They nother make bondemen of prysoners taken in battayll, oneles yt be in battaylle that the fowghte themselfes, nor bondemens chyldren, nor to be shorte anuye man whome they canne gette owte of an othere countreye, thoughe he were theyre a bondeman. But other suche as amonge themselfes for heynous offences be punnyshed wyth bondage, or elles

suche as in the Cytyes of other landes for greate trespasses be condempned to deathe. And of thys sorte of bondemen they haue mooste stoore. Formanye of them they brynge home sumtymes payinge very lytle for them, yea mooste commonlye gettynge them for gramercye. Thyes sortes of bondemen they kepe not onelye in contynuall woorke and laboure, but alsoo in bandes. But theyre owne men they handle hardeste, whome they Judge more desperate and to haue deseruede greater punnysshemente, bycause they beynge so godlye broughte vp to vertue in soo excellente a common wealthe, cowlde not for all that be refreyned from mysdoynge. An other kynde of bondemen they haue, when a vyle drudge beynge a poore laborer in an other cowntreye dothe chewse of hys owne free wyll to be a bondeman emonge them. Thyes they handle and order honestelye, and entertepne almooste as gentyllye, as theyre owne free cytyzeyns, sauynge that they put them to a lytle more laboure, as there-
to

to accustomede. If anye suche be dysposed to departe thens (whyche seldome ys seene) they nother holde hym agaynste hys wyll, nother sende hym awaye wyth emptye handes. The syck (as I sayde) they see to wyth greate affectyon, and lette nothynge at all passe concernynge other Physycke or good dyete, wherby they may be restored agayne to theyr healthe. Them that be syck of incurable deseases they comforte wyth syttynge by them, wyth talkynge wyth them and to be shorte wyth all maner of helpes that maye be. But yf the disease be not onelye vncurable, but also full of contynuall payne and angoysshe: then the priestes and the magistrates exhort the man, seynge he ys not able to doo anye dewtye of lyffe, and by ouerlyuing hys owne deathe is noysome and yrke some to other, and greuous to hymselfe: that he wyll determyne with hymselfe no longer to cherysshe that pestilent and pepnefull disease. And seynge hys lyfe ys to hym but a tourmente, that he wyll nott bee vnwyllynge too dye,

but rather take a good hope to hym, and other dyspatche hymselfe owte of that paynfull lyffe, as owte of a pryson, or a racke of tormente, or elles suffer hym selfe wyllynglye to be rydde owte of yt by other. And in so doynge they tell hym he shal doo wyselye, seynge by hys deathe he shall lyse no commodytye, but ende hys payne. And bycause in that acte he shall followe the cownsell of the pryestes, that is to saye of the interpreters of goddes wyll and pleasure, they shewe hym that he shall do lyke a godly and a vertuouse man. They that be thus persuaded fynyshe theyre lyues wyllynglye othere wyth hunger, or elles dye in theyre sleape wythowte annye fealnige of deathe. But they cause none suche to dye agaynste hys wyll, nor they vse no lesse dilygence and attendaunce about hym: beleuynge thys to be an honorable deathe. Elles he that kylleth hym selfe before that the pryestes and the cownsell haue allowed the cause of hys deathe, hym as vnworthy

both

both of the earth and of fyer, they rak haburied into some stinkyng marrish. The womā is not maried before she be xviii. yeres olde. The man is. iiii. yeres elder before he marry. If other the man or the woman be proued to haue bodely offended before their marriage, with an other, he or she whether it be is sharpely punyshed. And both the offenders be forbydden euer after in all their life to marrye; onelesse the faulte be forgeuen by the princes pardone. But bothe the good mā and the good wyfe of the house where that offence was done, as beyng slacke and negligent in lokyng to there charge, be in daunger of great reproche and infamye. That offence is so sharpely punyshed, bicause they perceaue, that onles they be diligently kept from the lybertie of this vice, fewe wyll ioyne together in the loue of marriage, wherin all the lyfe must be led with one, & also all the griefes & displeasures that come therewith must pacyently be taken & borne. Furthermore in cheusyng wyfes and husbandes they obserue earnestly and

thraptelye a custome whiche semed to
us verye fonde and folysh. ffor a sad
an honest matrone sheweth the woma
be she maide or widdowe naked to the
wower. And lykewyse a sage and dis-
crete man exhibyteth the wowere na-
ked to the woman. At this custome we
laughed and disalowed it as foolysshe.
But they on the other part don great-
lye wonder at the follye of all other
nations, whyche in byinge a colte,
where as a lytle money is in hassarde,
be so charye and circumspecte, that
though he be almoste all bare, yet they
will not bye hym, oneles the saddel
and all the harneys be taken of, leaste
vnder those couerynges be hydde som
galle or soore. And yet in shewsynge a
wyfe, whyche shalbe other pleasure,
or displeasure to them all theire lyfe
after, they be so recheles, that all the
residewe of the woomans bodye, be-
inge conered wyth cloothes, they este-
me here scaselye be one handebredeth
(for they can se no more but her face)
and so do ioyne her to them not with-
out great ieoperdie of euell agreing to-
gether

gether, if any thynge in her body afterwarde do offende and mysliye them. ffor all men be not so wyse as to haue respecte to the vertuous condicions of the partie. And the endowmētes of the bodye cause the vertues of the mynde more to be esteemed and regarded: yea euen in the mariages of wyse men. For ells so fowle deformitie may be hydde vnder thoes couerynges, that it maye quite alienate & take awaye the mans mynde from his wyfe, whē it shal not be lawfull for their bodies to be seperate agayne. If suche deformitie happen by any chaunce after the mariage is cōsumate and fynished: well, there is no remedie but patience. Euery mā must take his fortune well a worthe. But it were well done that a lawe were made wherebye all suche deceptes myghte be eschewed, & advoyded before hand. And thys were they constreyned more earnestlye to looke vpon, because they onlye of the the nations in that parte of the worlde bee contente euerye man wyth one wyfe a piece. And matrymoney is there neuer broken, but

by

by death, except adulterye breake the bonde, or els the intollerable waiward maners of eyther partie. ffor if either of them fynde themselfe for any surhe cause greued: they maye by the licence of the councell chaunge and take an other. But the other partie lyueth euer after in infampe and out of wedlocke. But for the husbande to put away his wyfe for no faulte, but for that some mysshappe is fallen to her bodye, thys by no meanes they wyll suffre. ffor they iudge it a greate poynte of cruelte that any body in their moste nede of helpe and comforte, shoulde be cast of and forsaken, and that olde age whych both bryngeth sycknes with it, and is a syckenes it selfe, should vnkyndlye & vnfaythfullye be delte withall. But nowe and then it chaunseth, where as the man and the woman cannot well agree betwene themselfes, bothe of the fynd ynge other with whome they hope to lyue more quyetlye and merylye, that they by the full consent of them both be diuorsed a sonder and newe maried to other. But that not without

the

the auctoritie of the councell. Which agreeth to no dyuorses, before they and their wyues haue diligently tried and examined the matter. Yea and thē also they be loth to cōsent to it, because they knowe thys to be the next waye to breke loue betwene man and wyfe, to be in easye hope of a newe mariage. Breakers of wedlocke be punyshed with moste greuous bondage. And if both the offenders were maried, then the partyes whiche in that behalfe haue suffered wrong be diuorsed from the auoutrers if they wyll, and be maried together, or els to whō they luste. But if eyther of them both do styll continewe in loue towarde so vnkynde a bedfellowe, the vse of wedlocke is not to them forbydden, if the partie be disposed to followe in toylinge and drudgerye the person, which for that offence is condemned to bondage. And very ofte it chaunceth that the repentaūce of the one and the earnest diligence of the other, dothe so moue the prince with pytie and compassion, that he restoreth the boude persone from seruitude

tude to libertie and fredom again. But if the same partie be taken eftsones in ỹ faulte, there is no otherway but death. To other trespaces there is no prescript punyshment appoynted by anye lawe. But accordinge to the heynousenes of the offence, or contrarye, so the punyshemente is moderated by the discretion of the councell. The husbandes chastice theire wyfes: and the parentes theire chyldren, oneles they haue done anye so horryble an offence, that the open punyshemente thereof maketh muche for the aduauncemente of honeste maners. But moste commenlye the moste heynous faultes be punyshed with the incommoditie of bondage. ffor that they suppose to be to the offenders no lesse griefe, and to the common wealth more profitable, then if they should haltely put thē to death, and make them out of the waye. ffor there cummeth more profite of theire laboure, then of theire deathe, and by theire example they feare other the lenger from lyke offences. But if they beinge thus vsed doo rebell and kicke

agayne,

agayne, then forsothe they be slayne as desperate and wilde beastes, whom no ther person nor chayne could restraine and kepe vnder. But they whiche take theire bondage patiently be not left all hopeles. For after they haue ben broken and tamed with longe myseries, yf then they shewe suche repentaunce, wherebye it maye be perceaued that they be sorper for theire offence then for theire punyshemente: sumtymes by the Prynces prerogatyue, and sumtymes by the voyce and consent of the people, theire bondage other is mitigated, or els cleane remytted and forgeue. He that moueth to aduoutrye is in no lesse daunger and ieoperdie, then yf he hadde committed aduoutrye in dede. For in all offences they counte the intente and pretensed purpose as euell as ye acte or dede it selfe. For they thynke that no lette owghte to excuse hym, that dyd hys beste too haue no lette. They sette greate store by fooles. And as it is greate reproche to do to annye of them hurte or iniury, so they prohibite not to take pleasure

of

of foolyshnes. For that they thynke doth muche good to the fooles. And if any man be so sadde and sterne, that he cannot laughe nother at their wordes nor at their dedes, none of them be cõmytted to his tuition: for feare lest he would not order them gentilly and favorably enough: to whom they should bryng no delectation (for other goodnes in them is none) muche lesse any profyt should they yelde hym. To mocke a man for hys deformitie, or for that he lacketh any parte or lymme of hys bodye, is counted greate dishonestie and reproche not to hym that is mocked, but to hym that mocketh. Which unwyselp doth imbrayde any man of that as a vice, whiche was not in his power to eschewe. Also as they counte and reken very lyttell wytte to be in hym that regardeth not naturall bewtie and comlines, so to helpe the same with paynynges is taken for a vayne and a wanton pryde, not without great infampe. For they knowe euen by verye experience, that no comelines of bewtie doth so hyghly cõ-

mende

mende and auaunce the wyues in the
concepte of there husbandes, as honest
conditions and lowlines. ffor as loue
is oftentimes wonne with bewtie, so it
is not kept preserued and continued,
but by vertue and obedience. They do
not only feare theire people frō doinge
euell by punyshmentes, but also allure
them to vertue with rewardes of ho-
noure. Therfore they set vp in the mar
ket place the ymages of notable men,
and of such as haue bene great & boun-
teful benefactors to the cōmon wealth,
for ỹ perpetual memorie of their good
actes: and also that the glory & renow-
me of the auncetors may sturre & pro-
uoke theire posteritie to vertue. He that
inordinatlie & ambitiously desireth pro
motions is lefte all hopeles for euer at
teynyng any promotion as longe as he
liueth. They lyue together louingly.
ffor no magistrate is either hawte or fe
refull. ffathers they be called, and ly-
ke fathers they vse themselfes. The ci-
tezens (as it is their dewtie) do willing
ly exhibite vnto them dewe honoure
without any cō pulsion. ffor the prince

hymselfe is not knowē from the other by his apparel nor by a crowne or diademe or cappe of maintenaunce, but by a litteil sheffe of corne caried before hym. And so a taper of wax is borne before ỳ bysshop, whereby onely he is knowen. Thei haue but few lawes. ffor to people so instructe and institute very fewe do suffice. Yea this thynge they chiefly reproue amonge other nations, that innumerable bokes of lawes and expositions vpon thesame be not sufficient. But they thinke it against al right and iustice that mē should be bound to thoes lawes, whiche other be in numbre mo then be able to be readde or els blinder and darker, then that any mā can well vnderstande them. ffurthermore they vtterly exclude and banysshe all proctours & sergeauntes at the lawe: which craftely handell matters, & subtelly dispute of the lawes. ffor they thinke it most mete, that every mā should pleade his owne matter, & tell thesame tale before the iudge, that he would tel to his man of lawe. So shall there be lesse circumstaūce of wordes, & the truth shal

soner cū to light, whiles ỹ iudge with a discrete iudgement doth wape ỹ wordes of hym whom no lawier hath instruct with deceit, & whiles he helpeth and beareth out simple wittes agaynst the false & malicious circūuertions of craftie chyldren. This is harde to be obserued in other countreis in so infinitie a nūmbre of blynd and intricate lawes. But in Vtopia euery man is a cunnyng lawier. ffor as I sayde they haue verye fewe lawes: and the playner and grosser that anye interpretation is: that they allowe as moste iuste. ffor all lawes (saye they) bee made and publysshed onelye to thentente, that by them euerye man shoulde be put in remembraunce of hys dewtye. But the craftye and subtyll interpretation of them can put verye fewe in that remembraunce (for they be but fewe that do perceaue them) where as the simple the plaine & grosse meaning of the lawes is open to euerye man. Els as touchynge the vulgare sorte of the people, whiche be bothe moste in numbre, & haue moste neade to knowe

theire dewties, were it not as good for them that no lawe were made at all, as when it is made, to bynde so blynde an interpretacion vpon it, that without greate witte and longe argumente no man can discusse it? To the findinge out whereof nother the grosse iudgement of the people can attayne, nother the hole lyfe of them that be occupied in woorkynge for theire lyuynges can suffyse therto. Thies vertues of the Vtopians haue caused theire nexte neyghbours and borderers, whiche lyue free and vnder no subiection (for the Vtopians longe agoo haue delyuered manye of them from tyrannye) to take magistrates of them some for a yeare, and some for fyue yeares space. Whiche when the tyme of theire office is expired, they bringe home agayn with honoure and prayse, and take newe ons agayne wyth them into theire countrey. Thies nations haue vndowtedlye verye well and holsomlye prouyded for theire cōmon wealthes. ffor seynge that bothe the makyng and the marrynge of the weale publi-

publique doth depende and hange of the maners of the rulers and magistrates, what officers coulde they more wyselye haue chosen, thē thoes whiche cannot be ledde from honestye by bribes (for to them that shortlye after shall departe thens into theyre owne countreye money shoulde be vnprofytable) nor yet be moued other with fauour, or malyce towardes anye man, as beynge straungers and vnaquainted with the people. The which twoo vices of affection and aurye where they take place in iudgementes, incontynente they breake iustice, the strongeste and sureste bonde of a common wealthe. Thies peoples whiche fetche theire officers and rulers from them the Vtopians call theire fellowes. And other to whome they haue bene beneficiall, they call theire frendes. As towchynge leages, which in other places betwene countrey and countrey be so ofte concluded, broken, and made agayne, they neuer make none with anye nacion. ffor to what purpose serue leagues saye they? As

though nature had not set sufficient loue betwene man and man. And who so regardeth not nature thynke powe that he wyll passe for wordes? They be brought into thys opinion chiefely bicause ỹ in thoes parties of ỹ worlde leagues betwene princes be wont to be kept and obserued very slenderly. For here in Europa, and especially in thies partes where the fayth and religion of Christe reygneth, the maiestie of leagues is euery where estemed holy and inuiolable: partly through the iustice and goodnes of princes, and partely through the reuerẽce of great byshoppes. Whyche lyke as they make no promysse themselues but they doo very religiously performe the same so they exhorte all prynces in any wyse to abyde by theyre promisses, and them that refuse or denye so to do, by theire pontificall powre and authoryte they compell therto. And surely they thynke well that it myght seme a very reprochefull thynge, yf in the leagues of them whyche by a peculiare name be called faythfull fayth

should

shoulde haue no place. But in that newefounde parte of the worlde whiche is scaselye so farre from vs beyonde the lyne equinoctiall, as owre lyfe and manners be dissidente from theirs, no truste nor confydence is in leagues. But the mo and holyer ceremonies the league is knytte vp with, the soner it is broken: by some cauillation founde in the woordes, whyche many tymes of purpose be so craftelye put in, and placed, that the bandes can neuer be so sure nor so stronge, but they wyll fynde some hole open to crepe owte at, and to breake bothe league and trewthe. The whiche craftye dealynge, yea the whiche fraude and decepte, yf they shoulde knowe it to bee practysed amonge priuate men in theire bargaynes and contractes, they woulde incontinent crye owte at it with a sower countenaunce, as an offence most detestable, and worthie to be punnyshed with a shamefull death: yea euen lyke they that auaunce themselues authours of like councel geue to princes.

Wherfore it maye well be thought o-ther that all iustice is but a basse and a lowe vertue, and whiche availeth it self farre vnder the hyghe dignitie of kynges. Or at the least wyse, that there be two iustices, the one mete for the inferioure sorte of the people, goinge a fote and creppinge by lowe on the grounde, and bounde downe on euery side with many bandes, because it shall not run at rouers. The other a princelye vertue, whiche lyke as it is of muche hygher maiestie then the other poore iustice, so also it is of muche more lyberties, as to the whiche nothinge is vnlawful that it lusteth after. Thies maners of princes (as I sayde) whiche be there so cupll kepers of leagues cause the Vtopians, as I suppose, to make no leagues at all, whiche perchaunce woulde chaunge theire mynde if they lyued here. Howebeit they thynke that thoughe leagues be never so faythfullye obserued and kept, yet the custome of makinge leagues was verye euel begonne. For this causeth me (as though nations which be separate a sonder by

the

the ſpace of a lytle hyl or a ryuer, were cõpled together by no ſocyete or bonde of nature) to thynke them ſelfes borne aduerſaryes and enemyes one to an other, and that it is lawfull for the one to ſeke the death and deſtruction of the other, it leagues were not: yea and that after the leagues be accorded, frendeſhyppe dothe not growe and encreaſe: But the lycence of robbynge and ſtealynge doth ſtyll remayne, as farfurthe as for lacke of forſight and aduiſement in wrytinge the woordes of the league anny ſentence or clauſe to the contrary is not therin ſuffycyentlye comprehended. But they be of a contrary opinyõ. That is that no man ought to be counted an enemy, whyche hath done no iniury. And that the felowſhyppe of nature is a ſtronge league: and that men be better and more ſurely knitte togethers by loue & benenolence, thẽ by couenaũtes of leagues, by hartie affectiõ of minde then by woordes.

Of warfare.

Warre or battel as a thinge very brastelye, and yet to no kynde of beastes in so muche use as it is to man, they do detest and abhorre. And contrarye to the custome almost of all other natyons, they counte nothinge somuch against glorie, as glory gotten in warre. And therefore though they do daily practise and exercise themselfes in the discypline of warre, and that not only the men but also the women vpon certeyne appoynted dayes, leste they should be to seke in the feat of armes yf need should requyre, yet they never to goo to battayle, but other in the defence of their owne countreye or to dryue owte of theyr frendes lande the enemyes that be comen in, or by their powre to deliuer frō the yocke and bondage of tyrannye some people that be oppressed wyth tyrā-

nye

ny. Whyche thynge they doo of meere pytye and compassion. Howebeit they sende healpe to theyre frendes not euer in theire defence. But sumtimes also to requyte and reuenge iniuries before to them done. But thys they do not onles their counsell and aduise in the matter be asked whyles yt ys yet newe and freshe. For yf they sende the cause probable, and yf the contrarye parte wyll not restore agayne suche thynges as be of them iustelye demaunded, then they be the chyefe auctores and makers of the warre. Whyche they do not onlye as ofte as ly inrodes and inuasions of soldiours prayes and booties be dreuen away, but then also much more mortally, whē their frindes marchaūtes in any land other vnder ỹ pretence of vniust lawes, orels by the wresting & wronge vnderstonding of good lawes do sustaine an vniust accusation vnder the colour of iustice. Mother the battel which the Vtopians fowghte for the Nephelogetes against the Alaopolitanes a lytle before oure time was made for anye other cause, but that the

Nephe-

Nephelogete marchaunte men as the Utopians thought suffred wrong of the Alaopolitanes vnder the pretence of righte. But whether it were righte or wrong, it was with so cruell and mortal warre revenged, the countreis rounde about ioyning their healpe and powre to the puysaunce and malice of bothe parties, that most flourishing and wealthie peoples beyng some of thē shrewdely shaken, and some of them sharpely beaten, the mischeues were not finished nor ended, vntill the Alaopolitanes at the last were yelded vp as bondmen into the iurisdiction of the Nephelogetes. For the Utopians foughte not this warre for themselfes. And yet the Nephelogetes before the warre, when the Alaopolitanes flourished in wealth were nothyng to be cōpared with thē. So egerly the Utopians prosequute the iniuries done to ther frindes yea in money matters, and not their owne likewise. For if they by conveyne or gyle be wiped beside their gooddes, so that no violēce be done to their bodies, they wreake their anger by abstenining from occupyenge

pieng with that nation vntill they haue made satisfaction. Not for because they set lesse stoore by their owne cytyzens, then by theire frindes: but that they take the losse of their frendes money more heuely then the losse of theyr owne. Because that their frindes marchaunte men, forasmuche as that they leise is their owne priuate gooodes, sustepne great damage by the losse. But their owne citizens leise nothing but of the commē gooddes, and of ỹ which was at home plentifull and almost superfluous, elles hadde it not bene sent furth. Therfore no mā feeleth the losse. And for this cause they thynke it to cruell an acte to reuenge that losse wyth the death of many, the incommoditie of the whiche losse no man feeleth nother in his life, nother in his liuinge. But if it chaunce that any of their men in any other countreye be maymed or kylled, whether it be done by a commē or a priuate councell, knowing and trying out the treuth of the matter by their ambassadours, onles the offēders be rendered vnto them in recompence of the iniury,

they

they will not be appeased: but incontinent they proclayme warre against the
The offenders pelded they punnisshe other with death or with boudage. They
be not only sorye, but also ashamed to
atchieue the victory with much blood
shed, counting it greate folye to bye
pretyous wares to dere. They reioyse
and auaunte themselfes yf they bayn-
quysshe and oppresse theire enemyes by
crafte and decept. And for that act they
make a generall tryumphe, and as yf
the matter were manfullye handeled
they sett vp a pyller of stone in the pla-
ce where they so vanquysshed theyre
ennemyes in token of the victory. ffor
then they glorye then they booste and
cracke that they haue plaied the men in
dede, when they haue so ouercommen,
as no other lyuynge creature but one-
ly man coulde: that ys to saye by the
myghte and pusyaunce of wytte. ffor
wyth boddelye strengthe (saye they)
beares, lyons, boores, wulffes, dogges
and other wylde beastes doo fyghte.
And as the mooste parte of them doo
passe vs in strengthe and fyerce cour-

rage

rage, so in wytte and reason wee be muche stronger then they all. Theyr chefe and principall purpose in warre is to obteyne that thynge, whyche yf they had before obteyned they wolde not haue moued battayle. But if that be not possible, they take so cruell vengeaunce of them whych be in the fault, that euer after they be aferde to doo the lyke. This is their chiefe and principall intente, whyche they immediately and fyrste of all prosequute, and sette forewarde. But yet so, that they be more circumspecte in auoydynge and eschewynge ieopardyes, then they be desyrous of prayse and renowme. Therfore immediatly after that warre is ones solemnly denounced, they procure many proclamatiõs signed with their owne commen seale to be sett vp priuilie at one time in their enemyes lande, in places moste frequented. In theyr proclamations they promysse greate rewardes to hym that will kyll their enemies prince and sum what lesse gyftes, but them selfe greate also for euery heade of them, whose

whose names be in the sayde proclama cions conteined. They be those whome they coũt their chieffe aduersaries, next vnto the prince. What soeuer is prescri bed vnto him that killeth any of the pro clamed persons, that is dubled to him ẏ bringeth any of the same to them aliue, yeaand to the proclamed persones thẽ selfes, if they wil chaũge their mindes and come into them takinge their pae tes, they profer the same greate rewar des with pardon, and suerty of their li ues. Therfore it quickely cummeth to passe that they haue al other men in sus picion, and be vnfaithfull and mistru sting emong themselfes one to another, liuing in great feare and in no lese ieo pardye. ffor it is well knowen that dy uers times the most part of them, and specially the prince him selfe hath bene betraied of thẽ in whome they put their most hoope and trust. So that there is no maner of acte nor dede that giftes & rewardes do not enforce mẽ vnto. And in rewardes they kepe no measure. But remembring and considering into howe great hasard and ieopardie they

call

call them, endeuoure themselfes to recompence the greatenes of the daunger with lyke great benefites. And therfore they promisse not only wonderfull greate abundaunce of golde, but also lãdes of greate reuenues lyenge in mooste sauffe places emonge theire fryndes. And theyre promysses they perfourme faythfully wythowte annye fraude or couyne. Thys custome of byinge and sellynge aduersaryes amonge other people ys dysallowed, as a cruell acte of a basse and a cowardyshe mynde. But they in thys behalfe thynke themselfes muche prayse woorthye, as who lyke wyse men by thys meanes dyspatche greate warres wythowte annye battell or skyruyshe. Yea they cownte yt also a dede of pyty and mercye, bycause that by the drathe of a fewe offenders the lyues of a greate numbre of ynnocentes aswell of their own mẽ as also of their enemies be raũsomed & saued, which in fighting shoulde haue beue sleane. For they doo no lesse pytye the basse and commen sorte of theyr enemyes people, then they doo

theyre owne: knowynge that they be dryuen to warre agaynste theyre wyl-les by the furyous madnes of theyre prynces and heades. ¶ If by none of thes meanes the matter go forwarde, as they wolde haue yt, then they procure occasyons of debate, and dyssentyon to be spredde emonge theyre enemyes. As by bryngynge the prynces brother, or some of the noble men in hoope to obtayne the kyngedome. ¶ If thys way preuayle not, then they reyse vp the people that be nexte neyghboures and borderers to theyre enemyes, and them they sette in theyre neckes vnder the coloure of some olde tytle of ryghte, suche as kynges doo neuer lacke. To them they promysse theire helpe and ayde in theyre warre. And as for money they gyue them abundance. But of theyre owne cytyzeyns they sende to them fewe or none. Whome they make so much of, and loue so intyerlye, that they wolde not be willing to chaung a-nye of thē for their aduersaries prince. But their gold and syluer, bycause they kepe yt all for thys only purpose, they

lay

laye it owte frankly and freely: as who shoulde lyue euen as wealthely, if they hadde bestowed it euerye penny. Yea and besydes theyre ryches, whyche they kepe at home, they haue also an infynyte treasure abrode, by reason that (as I sayde before) many nations be in their debte. Therefore they hyere soldyours oute of all countreys and sende them to battayle, but cheifly of the Zapoletes. This people is.500. myles from Vtopia eastewarde. They be hydeous sauage and fyerce, dwellynge in wild woodes and high mountaines, where they were bredde & brought vp. They be of an harde nature, able to abide and sustaine heate, cold, & labour, abhorrynge from all delycate dayntyes, occupyenge no husbandrye nor tyllage of the ground, ho melye and rude both in the buildinge of their houses & in their apparrell, geuen vnto no goodnes, but onelye to the breede and bringynge vp of cattell. The moost parte of theire lyuynge is by huntynge and stealynge. They be borne onelye to warre, whyche they dylygentlye and

earnestlye seke for. And when they haue gotten yt, they be wonders glad de therof. They goo furthe of theyre countreye in greate companyes together, and who soeuer lacketh souldyours, there they proffer theyre seruyce for small wages. Thys ys onely the crafte that they haue to gette theyre lyuynge by. They mayntayne theyr lyfe, by sekyng theyre deathe. ffor them whomewyth they be in wayges they fyghte hardelye syrslye, and faythefullye. But they bynde themselfes for no certayne tyme. But vpon thys condycion they entre into bondes, that the nexte daye they wyll take parte wyth the other syde for greatter wayges, and the nexte daye after that they wyll be readye to come backe agayne for a lytle more money. There be fewe warres there awaye, wherin is not a greate number of them in bothe partyes. Therefore yt daylye chaunceth that nye kynsefolke whyche were hiered togetheron one parte, and there verye frendelye and familyerly vsed themselfes one wyth an other, shortely

after

after beynge separate into contrarye partes, runne one agaynste an other emnouslye and spercelye: and forgetynge bothe kyndred and frendeshyp, thruste theyre swordes one in another. And that for none other cause, but that they be hyred of contrarye prynces for a lytle monepe. Whyche they doo so hyghelye regarde and esteame, that they will easelye be prouoked to chaūge partes for a halfpenye more wages by the daye. So quyckelye they haue taken a smacke in couetesenes. Whyche for all that ys to them no profyte. ffor that they gette by spyghtynge, pmmmedpatelye they spende vnthryftelye and wretchedlye in spott. Thys people spyghte for the Utopians agaynste all natyons, bycause they giue them greatter wayges, then annye other natyon wyll. ffor the Utopians lyke as they seke good men to vse wel, so they seke thyes euell and vycyous men to abuse. Whome when neade requyreth wyth promisses of greate rewardes they putt furthe into greate ieopardyes, ffrom whens the moofte

part of them neuer cummeth againe to aske their rewardes. But to them that remain on liue they paye ẏ which they promissed faithfully, that they may be the more willinge to put themselfes in like daũgers another time. Nor ẏ Vtopians passe not how many of thẽ they bring to distruction. For they beleue ẏ they should doo a very good deade for all mankind, if they could ridde out of ẏ wordle all that fowle stinkinge denne of that most wicked and cursed people. Next vnto thies they vse the soldiours of them whom they fight for. And then the help of their other frindes. And last of al they ioyne to their owne citizeins. Emong whome they gyue to one of tried vertue and prowes the rewle goo uernaunce and conductyon of the hole armye. Vnder hym they appoynte ij. other, whyche whyles he ys sauffe be bothe pryuate and owte of offyce. But yf he be taken or slayne, the one of the other. ij. succedeth hym, as yt were by inherytaunce. And if the second miscarry then the third taketh hys rowme, leaste that (as the chaunce of bat-

tell

tell ys vncerteyne and dowtefull) the yeopardye or deathe of the capptayne shoulde brynge the hole armye in hasarde. They chuse soldyers owte of euerye cytye those whyche putt furthe themselfes wyllynglye. For they thruste no man furthe into warre agaynste hys wyll. Bycause they beleue, yf annye man be fearefull and faynte harted of nature, he wyll not onelye doo no manfull and hardye act hym selfe, but also by occasyon of cowardenes to hys fellowes. But yf annye battell be made agaynste theyre owne countreye, then they putt thyes cowardes so that they be stronge bodyed in shyppes emonge other bolde harted men. Or elles they dyspose thē vpon the walles, from whens they maye not flye. Thus what for shame that theyre ennemyes be at hande, and what for bycause they be withowt hope of runnynge awaye, they forgette all feere. And manye tymes extreame necessytye turneth cowardnes into prowes and manlynes. But as none of thē ys thrust forthe of his coūtrey into

warre agaynste hys wyll, so women that be wyllynge to accompanye their husbādes in times of warre be not prohybyted or stopped. Yea they prouoke and erhorte them to yt wyth prayses. And in sett fylde the wyues doo stande euerye one by here owne husbandes syde. Also euery man is cōpassed nexte abowte wyth hys owne chyldren, kinfolkes and alliaunce. That they, whom nature chiefelye moueth to mutuall succoure, thus stondynge together, maye helpe one an other. It is a great reprochе and dishonestie for the husbande to come home wythowte hys wiffe, or the wiffe withoute her husband, or ỹ sonne without his father. And therfore if the other part sticke so harde by it, that the battell come to their hādes, it is fought with great slaughter & bloodshed, eue to the vtter destruction of both partes. ffor as they make all the meanes and shyftes that maye be to kepe themselfes from the necessitye of fyghtynge, so that they may dispatche ỹ battell by their hiered soldyours: so when there is no remedy but ỹ they muste needes

fight

fyghte themselfes then they do as cou-
ragiouslye fall to it, as before, whyles
they myght, they dyd wyselye auoyde
it. Nor they be not moste fierce at the
fyrst bronte. But in continuaunce by
litle and lytle theire fierce courage en-
creaseth, with so stubborne and obsty-
nate myndes, that they wyll rather die
then gyue backe an ynche. ffor that
suertye of lyuynge, whiche euery man
hath at home beynge ioyned with noo
carefull anxietye or remẽbraunce how
theire posteritie shall lyue after them
(for this pensifenes oftentymes brea-
keth and abateth couragious stoma-
kes) maketh them stowte and hardy,
and dysdaynful to be conquered. Mo-
reouer theire knowledge in cheualrye
and feates of armes putteth them in a
good hope. ffinally the holsome and
vertuous opinions, wherin they were
brought vp euẽ from theire childhode,
partely through learnyng, and parte-
lye throughe the good ordenaunces
and lawes of theire weale publique
augmente and encrease theire manfull
curage. By reason whereof they no-

ther set so litle store by theire liues that they will rashely & vnaduisedly cast them away: nor they be not so farre in lewde & fond loue therewith, that they will shamefully couete to kepe them, whē honestie biddeth leaue thē. When the battel is hottest & in al places most fierce & feruent, a bende of chosen and picked yong men, whiche be sworne to liue & dye togethers, take vpon them to destrope theire aduersaries capitaine, hym they inuade now with preuy wyles, now by opē strength. At hym they strike both nere & farre of. He is assayled with a long & a continewal assault, freshe men stil comming in the wearied mens places. And seldome it chaūceth (onles he saue hymselfe by flying) that he is not other slayne, or els taken prysoner, & yelded to his enemies alyue. If they wynne the feelde, they persecute not theire enemies with the violent rage of slaughter. For they had rather take them alyue then kyll thē. Nother they do so followe the chase & pursute of theire enemies, but they leaue behynde them one parte of theire hoste

in

in battayl arraye vnder theire standardys. In so muche that if all theire hole armie be discumfetyd and ouercum saving the rereward, & that they therewith achieue the victory, then they had rather lette all theire enemies scape, then to followe them owt of arraye. ffor they remembre it hath chaunced vnto themselfes more thē ones: the hole powre & strength of theyre hoste being vanquished & put to flight, whiles theire enemies reioysing in the victory haue persecuted them flying some one way and some an other, fewe of theire men lying in an ambusshe, there redy at all occasions, haue sodaynly rysen vpon them thus disperssed & scattered owt of arraye, and through presumptiō of safetye vnadvisedly pursuynge the chase: and haue incōtinent changed the fortune of the hole battayll: and spyte of there tethes wrestynge owt of theire handes the sure & vndowted victory, being a litle before conquered haue for theire parte cōquired the cōquerers. It is hard to say whether they be craftier in layinge an ambusshe, or wittier in auoy-

adnoydynge thesame. Yowe woulde thynke they intende to fiye, whem they meane nothing lesse. And cōtrary wise when they go about that purpose, yow wold beleue it were ye least part of their thoughte. For if they perceaue themselfes other ouermatched in numbre, or closed in to narrowe a place, then they remoue their campe other in the nyght season with silence, or by some pollicie they deceaue theire enemies, or in the daye time they retiere backe so softely, that it is no lesse ieoperdie to medle with them when they gyue backe then when they preese on. They fence and fortifie theire campe sewerlye with a deape and a brode trenche. The earth therof is cast inward. Nor they do not set drudgeis and slaues a worke about it. It is doone by the handes of the souldiours them selfes. All the hole armye worketh vpon it: except them that watche in harneis before the trenche for sodeyne auentures. Therefore by the labour of so manye a large trenche closinge in a great cōpasse of grounde is made in lesse tyme thē any mā wold beleue.

beleue. Theire armoure or harneis whiche they weare is sure and stronge to receaue strokes, and handsome for all mouinges and gestures of the bodye, in so muche that it is not vnweldy to swymme in. ffor in the discipline of theire warefare amonge other feates thei lerne to swimme in harneis. Theire weapons be arrowes afarre of: which they shote both strongely and suerly, not onelye fotemen but also horsemen. At hande strokes they vse not swordes but pollaxes whiche be mortall, aswel in sharpenes as in weyghte, bothe for foynes and downe strokes. Engines for warre they deuyse and inuente wōders wittely. Whiche when they be made they kepe very secret, leaste if they should be knowen before neade requyre, they should be but laughed at, and serue to no purpose. But in makynge them herevnto they haue chiefe respecte, that they be both easy to be caried and handsome to be moued and turned about. Truce taken with theire enemies for a shorte time they do so fermelye and faythfully keape, that they

wyll

wyll not breake it: no not though they be theire vnto prouoked. They do not waste nor destroy there enemies lande with forraginges, nor they burne not vp theire corne. Yea they saue it as muche as maye be from beinge ouerrune and troden downe other with men or horses, thynkynge that it groweth for theire owne vse and profyt. They hurt no man that is vnarmed onles he be an espiall. All cities that be yelded vnto them, they defende. And suche as they wynne vp force of assaute they no ther dispoyle nor sacke, but them that withstode and dyswaded the yeldynge vp of the same they put to death, the other souldiours they punnyshe with bondage. All the weake multitude they leaue vntouched. If they knowe that anye cytezeins counselled to yelde and rendre vp the citie, to them they gyue parte of the condempned mens goodes. The residewe they distribute and gyue freyly amonge them, whose helpe they had in the same warre. For none of them selfes taketh anye portion of the praye. But when the battayll is fyny-

fynyshed and ended, they put theire frendes to neuer a penny coste of al the chardges that they were at, but laye it vpon theire neckes that be conquered. Them they burdepne with the hole chardge of theire expẽceis, which they demaunde of them partelye in money to be kept for lyke vse of battayll, and partelye in landes of greate reuennes to be payde vnto them yearlye for euer. Suche reuennes they haue nowe in manye countreis. Whiche by litle and lytle rysyng of dyuers and sondry causes be encreased aboue. vñ. hũdreth thousand ducates by the yere. Thither they sende furth some of their citezeins as Lieuetenauntes, to lyue theire sumptuously lyke men of honoure and renowne. And yet this notwithstanding muche money is saued, which cõmeth to the cõmen treasory: onles it so chaũce, that thei had rather truste ẏ coũtrey wt the money. Which many times thei do so lõg vntil they haue neade to occupie it. And it seldome happeneth, ẏ thei demaũd al. Of thies lãdes thei assigne part vnto thẽ, which at their requeste & exhor-

exhortacion put themselfes in such ieoperdies as I spake of before. If anye prynce stirre vp warre agaynst them, intendyng to inuade theire lande, they mete hym incontinent owt of theire owne borders with great powre and strengthe. For they neuer lyghtly make warre in their owne countreis. Nor they be neuer brought into so extreme necessitie as to take helpe out of forreyne landes into thire owne Ilande.

Of the religyons in Vtopia.

There be dyuers kyndes of religiō not only in sondry partes of the Ilande, but also in dyuers places of euerye citie. Some worshyp for God the sunne: some the mone, some some other of the planetes. There be that gyue wor-

worshyp to a man that was ones of excellente vertue or of famous glory, not only as God, but also as the chiefest & hyghest God. But the moste and the wyfest parte (reiectynge all thies) beleue that there is a certayne Godlie powre vnknowen, euerlastyng, incomprehensible, inexplicable, farre aboue the capacitie and reche of mans witte, dispersed through out all the worlde, not in bygnes, but in vertue and powre. Hym they call the father of all. To hym allone they attrybute the begynnynges, the encreasynges, the proceadynges, the chaunges, and the endes of all thynges. Nother they gyue deuine honours to any other then to him. Yea all the other also, though they be in diuers opinions, yet in this pointe they agree all togethers with the wisest sort in beleuynge that there is one chiefe and pryncipall God the maker and ruler of the hole worlde: whome they all commonly in theire countrey language call Mythra. But in this they disagre that amonge some he is counted one, and amonge some an other. For

euery one of them, whatsoeuer that is whiche he taketh for the chiefe God, thynketh it to be the very same nature, to whose onlye deuine myght and maiestie the som and soueraintie of al things by the consent of all people is attributed and geuen. Howe be it they al begynne by litle and litle to forsake & fall from thys varietie of superstitiõs, and to agree togethers in that religion whiche semethe by reason to passe and excell the residewe. And it is not to be dowted but all the other would longe agoo haue bene abolyshed, but that whatsoeuer vnprosperous thynge happened to any of them as he was mynded to chaunge his religion, the fearefulnes of people dyd take it not as a thynge cummynge by chaunce, but as sente frome God owt of heauen. As thoughe the God whose honoure he was forsakynge, wonlde reuenge that wickedpurpose against him. But after they harde vs speake of the name of Christe, of his doctrine, lawes, myracles, and of the no lesse wonderful constancie of so manye martyrs, whose

bloude

bloude wyllyngly shedde brought a great numbre of nations throughe out all partes of the worlde into theire secte: powe wyll not beleue with howe gladde myndes, they agreed vnto the same: whether it were by the secrete inspiration of God, or els for that they thought it next vnto that opinio which amonge them is counted the chiefest. Howe be it I thynke this was no smal healpe and furtheraunce in the matter that they harde vs saye that Christ instytuted amonge hys all thynges commen: and that thesame communitie dothe yet remayne amongest the rightest Christian companies. Verely howe soeuer it came to passe, manye of them consented togethers in oure religion, and were washed in the holye water of baptisme. But because amonge vs foure (for no moo of vs was left alyue two of oure companye beynge deade) there was no prieste, whiche I am ryghte sorye for, they beinge entered and instructed in all other poyntes of oure relygion, lacke onelye those Sacramentes, whyche

here none but priestes do minister. Howe be it they vnderstande and perceyue them, and be verye desierous of the same. Yea they reason and dispute the matter earnestly amonge themselfes, whether without the sendyng of a christian bysshoppe one chosen out of theire owne people may receaue the order of priesthode. And truly they were mynded to chuse one. But at my departure from them they hadde chosen none. They also whiche do not agree to Christes religion feare no man frome it, nor speake agaynste anye man that hath receyued it. Sauing that one of oure companye in my presence was sharpely punyshed. He as sone as he was baptised began against our willes with more earnest affection then wisdome to reason of Christes religiō. and began to waxe so hotte in his matter that he dyd not only preferre oure relygion before all other, but also dyd vtterlye despise an cōdempne al other, callynge them prophane, and the followers of them wicked and deuelishe, and the chyldren of euerlasting dampnation

nation. When he had thus longe reasoned the matter they layde holde on hym, accused hym, and condempned hym into exyle, not as a despyser of religion, but as a sedicious persone, and a rayser vp of dissention amonge the people. For this is one of the auncientest lawes amonge them: that no man shalbe blamed for reasonynge in the mayntenaunce of his owne religion. For kyng Vtopus euen at the first begynning, hearing that the inhabitantes of the lande were before his commyng thether at contynuall dissention and stryfe among themselues for their religions: percepuing also that this cõmon dissention whyles euery seuerall secte tooke seuerall partes in fyghting for theire countrey, was the only occasion of hys conquest ouer them all, assone as he had gottẽ the victory: First of all he made a decrie, that it shoulde be lawfull for euery man to fauoure and followe what religion he would, and that he myght do the beste he cold to bryng other to his opinion, so that he dyd it peaceably, gentelye, quyetly,

and soberlye, without hastye and contentious rebuking & inuehyng against other. If he coulde not by fayre & gentle speche induce them vnto his opinio, yet he ought vse no kinde of violence, and refrayne from displeasaunt & seditious woordes. To him that would be hementlye and feruentlye in this cause strine & contende was decreid bannith met or bondage. This lawe did kynge Utopus make not only for the maintenaunce of peace which he sawe through continuall contention & mortal hatred vtterly extinguished: but also because he thought this decree should make for the furtheraunce of religion. Wherof he durst define and determine nothing vnaduisedly, as dowting whether god desirynge manifolde and diuers sortes of honoure, would inspire sondrie men with sondrie kyndes of religion. And this surely he thought a very vnmete and foolishe thing, and a pointe of arrogant presumption to compell all other by violence and threatenynges to agre to thesame that thou beleuest to bee trewe. Furthermore though there be

one

one religion whiche alone is trewe, & all other vaynes superstitious, yet did he well forsee (so that the matter were handeled with reason, and sober modestie) that the trewthe of the owne powre woulde at the laste issue owte and come to lyght. But if contention and debate in that behalfe shoulde continuallye be vsed, as the woorste men be moste obstynate and stubburne, and in theire euell oppnion moste constante: he perceaued that then the beste and holyest religion woulde be troden vnder foote and destroyed by moste vayne superstitions, euen as good corne is by thornes and weydes ouergrowen and choked. Therfore al this matter he lefte vndiscussed, & gaue to euery man free libertie and choyse to beleue what he woulde. Sauinge that he earnestly and straytelye charged them, that no man shoulde conceaue so vile and base an opinion of the dignitie of mans nature as to thinke that the sowles do dye and perishe with the bodye: or that the worlde rũneth at al auentures gouerned by no diuine prouidence.

And therfore thei beleue that after this
lyfe vices be extreamelye punyshed &
vertues bountyfully rewarded. Hym
that is of a contrary opinion they cõ-
te not in the numbre of mẽ, as one that
hath aualed the hyghe nature of his
sowle to the vilenes of brute beastes bo
dies: muche lesse in the numbre of their
citizens, whoes lawes & ordenaũces
if it were not for feare he wold nothing
at al esteme. ffor pow may be suer that
he wil study other with crafte preuely
to mock, or els violently to breake the
commen lawes of his countrey, in
whom remaynyth no further feare thẽ
of the lawes, nor no further hope then
of the bodye. Wherefore he that is
thus mynded is depryued of all ho-
nours, excluded from all offices and
reiecte from all common administra-
tions in the weale publyque. And thus
he is of all sorte despysed as of an vn-
profitable and of a bale & vile nature.
Howe be it they put hym to no punp-
shemente, because they be perswaded
it is in no mans powre to beleue what
he lyst. No nor they constrayne hym

not

not with threatninges to dissemble his minde and shewe countenaunce contrary to his thoughte. For deceite and falshed and all maner of lyes, as next vnto fraude, they do meruelouslye deteste and abhorre. But they suffre him not to dispute in his opinion and that onlye emong the commen people. For elles a parte emong the the pryestes and mē of grauity they doo not only suffre but also exhorte him to dispute and argue: hoopinge that at the laste that madnes will giue place to reason. There be also other, and of them no small numbre, whych be not forbidden to speake their mindes, as grounding their opinion vpon some reason, being in their gliuine nother euell nor vitious. Their heresye is much contrary to the other. For they beleue that the soules of brute beastes be immortall and euerlasting. But nothinge to be compared with owers in dignitie, nother ordeyned and predestinate to like felicitie. For all they beleue certeinly and sewerly that mans blesse shall be so greate, that they doo morne and lamente euerye mans sicknes but

no mans death, oneles it be one whom they see depart from his life carfully, and agaynst his will. ffor this they take for a very euell token as though the sowle beinge in dyspayre and vexed in conscience, through some preuy & secret forefeilyng of the punnishment now at hande were aferde to depart. And they thinke he shall not be welcome to God whych whē he is called runneth not to hym gladly, but is drawen by force and sore agaynste hys will. They therfore that see thys kynde of deathe doo abhorre it, and them that so die they burye wyth sorrow and silence. And whē they haue prayed God to be mercifull to the sowle, and mercifully to pardon the infirmities therof they couer ỹ dead coorse with earthe. Contrarye wise all that depart merely and ful of good hoope, for thē no man mournethe, but followethe the heerse with iopfull synging, cōmending the soules to god with great affectiō. And at the last not with mourning sorrow but with a great reuerēce they bourne ỹ bodies. And in ỹ same place they set vp a piller of stone,

with

with the deade mans titles therin gra-
ued. When they be cõme home they re
herse his vertuous maners & his good
dedes. But no parte of his liffe is soo
oft or gladly talked of as his merry dea-
the. They thinke that this remẽbraunce
of their vertue & goodnes doth behemẽ
tely prouoke and enforce the quicke to
vertue. And ẏ nothing cã be more plea
saunt & acceptable to the dead. Whom
they suppose to be present emong them
when they talke of them, though to the
dull and feoble eyesight of mortall mẽ
they be inuisibly. ffor it were an vncon
uenient thinge that the blessed shoulde
not be at libertye to goo whether they
wold. And it were a poynte of greate
vnkyndnes in thẽ to haue vtterly caste
awaye the desyer of vysytynge and se-
ynge their frindes, to whome they we-
re in theyr lyfe tyme ioyned by mutuall
loue and charytye. Whych in goodmẽ
after theyre deathe they cownte to be
rat' encreasede then dymynyshede.
They beleue therefore that the deade be
presentlye conuersaunte emong ẏ quic-
ke, as beholders and witnesses of all
their

their woordes and deedes. Therefore they go more corragiously to their busines as haning a trust and affiaunce in such ouerseers. And this same beleefe of ỹ present cõuersacio of their forefathers and auncetours emonge them fearethe them from all secrete dishonesty. They vtterly despise and mocke sothe sayinges and diuinacions of thinges to come by the flighte or voyces of birdes, and all other diuinations of vayne superstition, which in other countreys be in great obseruation. But they highly esteame and worshippe miracles that come by no helpe of nature, as workes and witnesses of the presente powre of God. And such they saye doo chaunce there very often. And sũtimes in great and dowtefull matters by commen intercession and prayers they procure and obteyne them with a suer hoope & confidence and a stedfast beleefe. They thinke that the contemplacion of nature and the prayse thereof cumminge, is to God a very acceptable honour. Yet there be many so earnestly bent and affectioned to religion, that they passe no

thing

thinge for learning nor giue their mindes to no knowledge of thinges. But pdelnes they vtterly forsake & eschue, thinkinge felicitie after this liffe to be gotten and obteined by busy labors and good exercises. Some therfore of them attende vpon the sicke, some amend highe waies, clense ditches, repaire bridges, digge turfes, grauell and stones, fell and cleaue woode, bring wood corne and other thinges into the cities in cartes, and serue not onlye in commen woorkes, but also in pruate labours as seruauntes, yea more then bondmē. ffor what so euer vnpleasaunte, harde, and vile woorke is any where, from the which labour, lothsūes, and desperation doth frape other, all that they take vpon them willingly and gladly, procuring quyete and rest to other remayning in continuall woorke and labour themselfes, not embrayding others there wyth. They nother reproue other mens liues nor glorye in theire owne. Thies mē the more seruiseable they behaue them selfes the moore they be honoured of all men. Yet they be diuided

into

into .ij. sectes. The one is of them that liue single and chast abstaining not only from the company of women, but also from the eating of flesh, and some of them from al maner of beastes. Which vtterly reiectynge the pleasures of this present lyfe as hurtefull, be all hollye set vpon the desire of the lyfe to come by watchynge and sweatynge hoping shortely to obtaine it, beyng in the meane season merye and lustye. The other sect is no lesse desperous of labour, but they ẽbrace matrimony, not despising the solace therof, thinking that they cã not be discharged of theire bonnden duetyes towardes nature withoute labour and toile, nor towardes their natiue countrey wythowte procreacion of chyldren. They abstayne from no pleasure that dothe nothynge hynder them from laboure. They loue the fleshe of fourefoted beastes, bycause they beleue that by that meate they be made hardier and stronger to woorke. The Vtopians count this secte the wiser, but ỹ other the hollier. Which in that they preferre single liffe before matrimony, and

that

that sharpe lisse before an easier lisse, if herin they grounded vpon reasō they wold mock them. But now forasmuch as they say they be ledde to it by religion, they honour and worship thē. And thies be they whome in their laungage by a peculyare name they call Buthresсas, the whyche woorde by interpretation signifieth to vs men of religion or religious men. They haue prypestes of exceding hollines, and therefore very few. ffor there be but .xiij. in every city according to the number of theire churches, saynge when they go furth to battell. ffor than .vij. of them goo furthe wyth the armye: in whose steades so manye newe be made at home. But the other at theyre retourne home agayn reentre euery one into his owne place, they that be aboue the numbre vntyll suche tyme as they succede into the places of the other at theyre dyinge be in the meane season continuallye in companye wyth the bishoppe. ffor he is the chyefe heade of thē all. They be chosen of the people as the other magistrates be, by secrete voices for ỹ auoy-

they be consecrate of their owne com-
pany. They be ouerseers of all deuyne
matters, orderers of religious, and as
it were Jugers and maisters of ma-
ners. And it is a great dishonestye and
shame to be rebuked or spoken to by an
ny of thē for dissolute and incontinēt li
uing. But as it is their office to gyue
good exhortations and cownsell, so it
is ỹ deuty of the prince and ỹ other ma
gistrates to correct and punnyshe offē-
ders, sauynge that the priestes whome
they find exceading vicious liuers, thē
they excommunicate from hauing any
interest in diuine matters. And there is
almoost no punnishment emonge them
more feared. ffor they runne in verye
great infamy, and be inwardly tormen
ted with a secrete feare of religion, and
shall not long scape free with their bo-
dies. ffor onles they, by quycke repen-
tañce approue the amendement of their
lyues to the priestes, they be taken and
punnished of the cownsell as wycked &
irreligious. Both childhode and youth
is instructed, and tought of them. Nor
they be not more deligente to instructe
them

them in learning then in vertue & good maners. ffor they vse with very greate endeuour and deligence to put into the heades of their children whiles they be yet tender and pliaunt good opinions and profitable for the conseruation of their weale publique. Which whē they be ones rooted in children do remayne wyth them all their lyfe after: & be wōders profitable for the defence & maintenaunce of the state of the cōmen weal the. Which neuer decaieth but through vicis rising of euell opinyons. The preestes onles they be women (for that kynd is not excluded from preesthode, howebeit fewe be chosen, and none but widdowes and old women) the mē priestes I sape take to their wifes the chiefest women in all their countrepe. ffor to no office emong the vtopians is more honour and preeminence geuē. In so much that if they committ any offence, they be vnder no cōmen iudgemēt, but be left onlp to god & thēselfes. ffor they thinke it not lawfull to touch hym with mannes hande, be he neuer so vitpous, whiche after so singuler a sort was de-

dicate and consecrate to god as a holy offering. This maner may they easely obserue, bicause they haue so few prie-stes & do chuse thē with such circūspec tion. ffor it scasely euer chaunceth that ỹ most vertuous emōg vertuous which in respect only of his vertue is auaun-ced to so high a dignity, can fal to vice and wickednes. And if it should chan ce in dede (as mans nature is mutable and fraile) yet by reason they be so few and promoted to no might nor powre, but only honour, it were not to be fea-red that anye great dammage by them should happen and ensue to the cōmen wealth. They haue so rare and few prie stes least if the honour were cōmunica te to many ỹ dignity of ỹ ordre which emong them now is so highly estemed should runne in contempt. Speciallye bicause they thinke it harde to find ma ny so good, as to be meet for that digni ty, to the execution and discharge wher of it is not sufficiēte to be endued with mean vertues. ffurthermore thies prie stes be not more estemed of their owne countrey mē, then they be of forrein & straūge

straung cõtreis. Which thing maye hereby plainly appere. And I think also ỹ this is the cause of it. For whiles ỹ armes be fighting together in opẽ feld, they a litle beside not farre of knele vpon their knees in their hallowed vestimentes, holding vp theyr hãdes to heauen, praying first of all for peace, nexte for victory of theyr owne parte, but to neyther part a bludy victory. If their host gette the vpper hand they runne into the mayne battayle, and restrayne theyre owne men from sleping and cruelly pursuynge theyre vanquyshed enemies. Whyche ennempes yf they do but see them and speake to them, yt ys ynoughe for the sauegarde of theyr lyues. And the towchynge of theire clothes defẽdeth & saueth al their goodes frõ rauyne & spoyle. Thys thing hath auaunced thẽ to so greate worshyp & trew maiesty emong al natõis, ỹ many times they haue aswel preserued theire own citizẽs frõ ỹ cruel force of their enemies, as they haue their enemies frõ the furyous rage of theyre owne men. For yt ys well knowen that whẽ

their owne armye hathe reculed, and in dyspayre turned backe, and runne awaye, theyr ennemies syerslye pursuing with slaughter and spoyle, then the priestes cumming betwine haue stayed the murder, and parted bothe the hostes. So that peace hath bene made and concluded betwene bothe partes vpon equall and indyfferent condytions. ffor there was neuer annye nacyon, so fiers, so cruell and rude, but they hadde thē in suche reuerence, that they cownted theyr bodyes hallowed and sanctyfyed and therefore not to be violentlye and vnreuerentlye towched. They kepe holye daye the fyrste and the laste day of euerye moneth and peare, deuydynge the peare into monethes, whyche they measure by the course of the moone, as they doo the peare by the course of the sonne. The fyrste dayes they call in theyr language Kynemernes, and the laste Trapemernes, the whyche woordes maye be interpreted primifeste and finifest or els in our speache first feast and last feast. Their churches be very gorgyous, and not onelye of fyne and

curious

curious workemãshyp, but also (which in the fewenes of thẽ was necessary) very wide and large, and able to receaue a great company of people. But they be all sumwhat darke. Howbeit that was not donne through ignoraunce in buylding, but as they say by the cownsell of the priestes. Bicause they thought ẏ ouer much light doth disperse mens cogitations, where as in dimme & doutefull lighte they be gathered together, & more earnestly fixed vpon religion & deuocion, which bicause it is not there of one sort emong all men, and yet all the kindes and fassions of it, thoughe they be sondry and manifold, agree together in the honoure of the deuine nature, as going diuers wayes to one ende, therfore nothing is sene nor hard, in ẏ churches, which semeth, not to agre indifferẽtly with them all. If ther be a distinct kind of sacrifice peculiare to any seuerall secte, that they execute at home in their owne houses. The cõmon sacrifices be so ordered that they be no derogatyon nor preiudyce to anuye of the pryuate sacrifyces and religiõs. There

fore no ymage of anye god is seene in the churche, to the intente it maye be free for euery man to conceyue god by their religion after what likenes and similitude they will. They call vpon no peculiar name of god but only Mithra. In the which word they all agree together in one nature of ỹ deuine maiestye whatsoeuer it be. No prayers be vsed but such as euerye man maye boldelye pronownce wythowt the offending of anny secte. They come therefore to the churche, the laste day of euery moneth and peare in the euenynge yet fastyng, there to gyue thanckes to GOD for that they haue prosperouslye passed ouer the peare or monethe, wherof that hollye daye ys the laste daye. The nexte daye they come to the churche earlye in the mornyng, to praye to GOD that they maye haue good fortune and successe all the newe peare or monethe, whyche they doo begynne of that same hollye daye. But in the holly dayes that be the laste dayes of the monethes and peares, before they come to the churche the wiffes fall downe prostrat

before

before their husbandes feet at home, & the children before the feete of their parentes cõfessing & acknowleginge that they haue offended other by some actuall dede, or by omissiõ of their dewty, & desire pardõ for their offence. Thus yf anye cloude of preuy displeasure was risen at home, by this satisfaction it is ouer blowen, that they may be present at the sacrifices with pure and charitable mindes. ffor they be afeard to come there w̃ troubled cõsciẽces. Therefore if they knowe themselfes to beare anye hatred or grudge towardes anye man, they presume not to come to ye sacrifices before they haue reconcyled themselfes and purged theyr consciences, for feare of greate vengeaunce & punyshemente for their offence. Whẽ they come thyther the men goo into the ryghte syde of the churthe and the the women into ye left syde. There they place themselfes in suche order that all they which be of the male kind in euery household sitte before the goodmã of ye house, and they of the female kynde before the goodwyfe. Thus it is forsene

that all their gestures and behauiours be marked and obserued abrode of thē, by whose authoritye & discipline they be gouerned at home. This also they diligentlye see vnto, that the younger e uermore be coupled with his elder, lest if childrē be ioyned together they shold passe ouer that time in childish wantō-nes, wherin they ought principallye to conceaue a religious and deuout feere towardes god: which is the chiefe and almost ỹ only incitatiō to vertue. They kill no liuing beast in sacrifice, nor they thinke not that the mercifull clemencye of god hath delite in blond and slaugh ter, which hath geuen liffe to beastes to the intent they shold liue. They burne frāckensence and other sweet sauours, and light also a great numbre of waxe candelles and tapers, nott supposinge this geere to be any thing auayable to the diuine nature as nether the prayers of men. But this vnhurtfull and harme les kind of worshipp pleaseth thē. And by thies sweet sauoures and lightes, & other such ceremonies mē feele thēsel-fes secretly lifted vp, & encouraged to

deuo-

deuotion with more willynge and feruent hartes. The people weareth in the churche white apparell. The priest is clothed in chaungeable colloures. Whiche in workemanshyp be excellent, but in stuffe not verye pretious. For their vestementes be nother embrodered with golde, nor set with precious stones. But they be wrought so fynely and commynely with diuers fethers of fowles, that the estimacion of no costelye stuffe is able to countervaile the price of the worke. Furthermore in thies birdes fethers, and in the dewe ordre of the, whiche is obserued in their settyng, they saye is contayned certayn deuyne misteries. The interpretation wherof knowen, whiche is diligentlye tawght by the priestes, they be put in remembraunce of the bountyfull benefites of God towarde them: and of the loue and honoure whiche of their behalfe is dewe to God: & also of their dewties one towarde an other. When the priest first commeth out of the vestrie thus apparelled, they fall downe incontinent euery one reuerently to the

grounde with so styll silence on euery part, that the very fashion of the thinge striketh into them a certayne feare of God, as though he were there personally presente. When they haue lien a litle space on the groũde, the priest giueth them a signe for to ryse. Thẽ they sing prayses vnto God, whiche they intermixt with instrumentes of musick, for the moste parte of other fashions then thies that we vse in this parte of the worlde. And like as some of owrs bee muche sweter then theirs, so some of theirs doo farre passe owrs. But in one thynge dowteles they goo exceadinge farre beyond vs. ffor all theire musicke, both that they playe vpon instrumentes, and that they singe with mans voyce doth so resemble and expresse naturall affections, the sownd & tune is so applied and made agreable to the thynge, that whether it bee a prayer, or els a dytty of gladnes, of patience, of trouble, of mournynge, or of anger: the fashion of the melodye dothe so represente the meaning of the thing, that it doth wonderfullye moue, stire,

pearce,

pearce, and enflame the hearers myn-
des. At the laste the people and the
priest together rehearse solempne pra-
yers in wordes, expressye pronoun-
ced, so made that everye man may pri-
vatelye applye to hymselfe that which
is commonlye spoken of all. In thies
prayers everye man recognyseth and
knowledgeth God to be hys maker,
hys governoure, and the principal cau
se of all other goodnes, thankyng him
for so many benefites receaued at hys
hande. But namelye that through the
favoure of God he hath chaunced into
that publyque weale, whiche is moste
happye and welthye, and hath chosen
that religion whyche he hopeth to be
moste true. In the whyche thynge
yf he doo anye thynge erre, or yf
there bee anye other better then ey-
ther of them is, beynge more ac-
ceptable to GOD, he desireth hym
that he wyll of hys goodnes let hym
haue knowledge thereof, as one
that is readye too followe what
waye soever he wyll leade hym. But
yf thys forme and fassion of a commen
wealth

wealthe be beste, and his owne religiō moste true and perfecte, then he desp-reth God to gyue hym a constaunte stedfastnes in the same, and to bryng all other people to the same ordre of lp-uyng, and to the same opinion of God: onles there be any thynge that in this dyuersitie of religions doth delyte his vnsercheable pleasure. To be shorte he prayeth hym that after his deathe he may come to hym. But how soone or late that he dare not assygne or deter-mine. Howebeit, if it myght stande with his maiesties pleasure, he would be muche gladder to dye a paynfull dethe and so to go to God, thē by long lyuing in worldlye prosperptie to bee awaye from hym. Whan this prayer is sayde they fall downe to the ground agayne, and a lytle after they ryse vp and go to dynner. And the residewe of the daye they passe over in playes, and exercise of chevalrye. Nowe I haue de clared and described vnto yowe, as truely as I coulde the fourme and or-dre of that commen wealth, which be-ryly in my iudgement is not onlye the

beste,

beste, but also that whiche alone of good ryght may clayme and take vpō it the name of a commen wealthe or publyque weale. For in other places they speake stil of the commen wealth. But euerye man procureth hys owne pryuate wealthe. Here where nothynge is pryuate, the commen affayres be earuestly loked vpon. And truely on both partes they haue good cause so to do as they do. For in other coūtreys who knoweth not that he shall sterue for honger, onles he make some seuerall prouision for hymself, though the commen wealthe florysshe neuer so muche in ryches? And therefore he is compelled euen of verye necessitie to haue regarde to hym selfe rather then to the people, that is to saye to other. Contrarywyse there where all thynges be commen to euerye man, it is not to be dowted that anye man shal lacke anye thynge necessarye for hys pryuate vses: so that the commen store houses and barnes be sufficientlye stored. For there nothynge is distrybuted after a nyggyshe sorte, nother there is

anye

any poore man or begger. And thoughe no man haue any thynge, yet euerye man is ryche. ffor what can be more ryche then to lyue ioyfullye and merylye without all griefe and pensifenes? Not caryng for hys owne lyuing, nor vexed or troubled with hys wyfes importunate complaintes, not dreadynge pouertie to his sonne, nor sorowyng for his doughters dowrey. Yea they take no care at all for the lyuyng and wealthe of themselfes and al theirs, of theire wyfes, theire children, theire nephewes, theire childrens children, and all the succession that euer shall followe in theire posteritie. And yet beside thys there is no lesse prouision for them that were ones labourers, and be nowe weake and impotent, then for them that do nowe laboure and take payne. Here nowe woulde I see yf anye man dare be so bolde as to compare with thys equytie, the iustice of other nations. Among whom, I forsake God, if I can fynde any signe or token of equitie and iustice. ffor what iustice is this, that a ry-

che

the goldsmythe or an vsurer, or to be shorte any of them, whyche other doo nothyng at all, or els that whiche they do is suche, that it is not very necessary to the common wealthe, should haue a pleasaunt and a welthy lyuynge, other by Idilnes, or by vnnecessary busynes? When in the meane tyme poore labourers, carters, yronsmythes, carpenters, and plowmen, by so great and continual toyle as drawyng & bearyng beastes be skant able to sustaine, and agayn so necessary toyle that without it no commen wealth were able to continewe and endure one yere, do yet get so harde and poore a lyuing & lyue so wretched and miserable a lyfe, that the state and cõdition of the labouring beastes maye seme muche better and welthier. For they be not put to so contynuall labour, nor theire lyuynge is not muche worse, yea to them much pleasaunter, takynge no thowghte in the meane season for the tyme to come. But thies seilie poore wretches be presently tormented with barreyne & vnfrutefull labour. And the remẽbraunce

of

of theire poore indigent and begerlye olde age kylleth them vp. ffor theire daylye wages is so lytle that it will not suffice for the same daye, muche lesse it yeldeth any ouerplus, that may daylye be layde vp for the relefe of olde age. Is not thys an vniuste and an vnkynde publyque weale, whyche gyueth great fees and rewardes to gentelmen as they call them, and to goldsmythes, & to suche other, whiche be other ydell persones or els onlye flatterers, and deuysers of vayne pleasures? And of the contrary parte maketh no gentle prouision for poore plowmen, coliars, labourers, carters, pronsmythes, and carpenters: without whome no commen wealth can cõtinewe? But whẽ it hath abused the laboures of theire lusty and flowringe age at the laste when they be oppressed with olde age and sycknes: being nedye poore and indigent of all thynges, then forgettynge theire so many paynfull watchynges, not remembrynge theire so many and so great benefytes, recompenseth and acquyteth them moste vnkyndly with myserable death.

And yet besides this the riche men not only by priuate fraud, but also by commen lawes do euery day plucke & snatche away from the poore some parte of their dailyliuing. So where as it semed before vniuste to recompense with vnkindnes their paynes that haue bene beneficiall to the publique weale, nowe they haue to this their wrong & vniuste dealinge (whiche is yet a muche worse pointe) geuen the name of iustice, yea & that by force of a law. Therfore whē I consider and way in my mind all thies commen wealthes which now a dayes any where do florish, so god helpeme, I can perceaue nothing but a certein conspiracy of riche men procuringe theire owne cōmodities vnder the name and title of the cōmen wealth. They inuent and deuise all meanes and craftes first how to kipe safely without feare of lesing that they haue vniustly gathered together, and next how to hire and abuse the woorke and labour of the poore for as litle money as may be. Thies deuises when the riche men haue decreed to be kept & obserued for the cōmen weal-

thes sake, that is to saye for the wealth also of ỹ poore people then they be made lawes. But thies most wicked & vicious men, when they haue by their vnsatiable couetousnes deuided emõg thẽ selfes all those thinges which wold haue suffised all men, yet howe farre be they from the wealth and felicity of the vtopian commen wealth. Owt of the which in that all the desire of money with the vse therof is vtterly secluded & banniſshed, howe great a heape of cares is cut away. How great an occasiõ of wickednes and miſchiefe is plucked vp by the rotes. ffor who knoweth not that fraud, theft, rauine, brauling, quarelling, brabling, striſſe, chiding, cõtentiõ, murder, treasõ, poiſoning, which by dayly punishmẽtes are rather reuẽged then refrained, do dye when money dieth. And also that feare, griefe, care, labores, and watchinges do periſhe euẽ the very same moment that money periſſheth. Yea pouertye ſelfe which only semed to lacke money, if money were goue, it also wold decreaſe & vaniſhe away. And that you may perceaue this

more

more plainly, consider with your selfes some barrein and vnfrutefull peare, wherin many thousandes of people haue starued for hõger. I dare be holde to say, ỹ in the end of that penury so much corne or grain might haue bene fownd in ỹ riche mens barnes if they had bene searched as being deuided emong thẽ, whome famine and pestilence hath killed, no man at all should haue felt that plage and penury. So easely might mẽ gett their liuinge, if that same worthye princesse lady money did not alon stoppe vp the way betwene vs and our liuing, whiche a goddes name was very excellẽtly deuised & inuẽted, that by her the way therto should be opened. I am sewer the ryche men perceaue thys, nor they be not ignorannte how much better yt werre to lacke noo necessarye thynge then to abunde with ouermuch superfluyte, to be ryddе owte of innumerable cares and trowbles, then to be beseiged wyth greate ryches. And I dowte not that other the respecte of euery mans priuate commoditie, or els the aucthouty of oure sauioure Christe

(which for his great wisdom could not but know what were best, & for his inestimable goodnes cold not but cousell to that which he knew to be best) wold haue brought all the worlde long agoo into the lawes of this weale publique, if it were not ỹ one only beast the prince and mother of all mischiefe pride, doth withstonde and let it. She measureth not wealth and prosperity by here owne cõmodities, but by the miseries & incõmodities of other. She wold not by her good will be made a goddes, if there were no wretches left, whom she might be lady ouer to mocke and scorne: ouer whose miseries her felicity might shine whose pouerty she might vexe, tormẽt, & encrease by gorgiously setting furthe her riches. This hell hound crepeth in to mens harties: and plucketh thẽ backe from entering the right pathe of liffe, & is so depely roted in mens brestes that she can not be plucked out. This forme and fassion of a weale publique, which I wold gladly wisshe vnto all natiõs: I am glad yet that it hath chaũced to ỹ Vtopians, which haue followed those

insti-

institutions of liffe, wherby they haue laid such fondations of their common wealth, as shall cõtinew & last not only wealthely, but also as farre as mãs wit maye iudge and cõiecture shall endure for euer. ffor seinge the chiefe causes of ambition & sedition with other vices be plucked vp by the rootes and abandoned at home there can be no ieopardye of domesticall dissention, which alone hathe caste vnder fote and broughte to nought the well fortefied and stronglye defenced wealth and riches of manye cities. But for asmuch as perfect cõcord remaineth, and holsome lawes be executed at home, the enuy of all forrein princes be not able to shake or moue ye empire, though they haue manye tymes long ago gone about to do it, beinge euermore dreuen backe. Thus whẽ Raphaell hadde made an ende of his tale, thoughe manye thinges came to my mind which in the manners and lawes of that people semed to be instituted & fõnded of no good reasõ, not only in ye fassiõ of their chiualry & in their sacrifices and religions, and in other of their

lawes, but also, yea & chiefely in that which is the principall fondacion of al their ordinaunces, that is to saye in the communitie of theire liffe and liuinge, without anye occupieng of money, by the whyche thynge onelye all nobilitie, magnificence worshyp honour and maiestie, the true ornamentes and honoures as the common opinion is of a common wealth vtterly be ouerthrowen and destroyed: yet bicause I knewe that he was werye of talkinge, and was not sure whether he coulde abide that anye thing shoulde be saide againste hys minde: specially bicause I remembred that he had reprehended this fault in other which be, afeard leaste they shoulde seme not to be wise enough, onles they could find some fault in other mens inuentions: therfore I praising both their institutions and his communication, toke him by the hand and led him into supper: saying that we wold chuse an other time to waye and examine the same matters, and to talke with him more at lardge therin. Whiche wold to God it might ones come to passe. In the meane

time

time as I can not agree and consent to all thinges that he said, being els without dowte a man singulerly well learned, and also in all worldly matters exactely and profoundely experienced, so must I nedes confesse and graunt that many thinges be in the vtopian weal publique, which in our cities I may rather wisshe for then hoope after.

Thus endeth the afternones talke of Raphaell Hythlodaye concerning the lawes and institutions of the Iland of Vtopia.

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